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The Bearing of Nationalism upon the Indian Church

Helen M. Nicholson

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The Bearing of Nationalism upon the Indian Church
The Bearing of Nationalism upon the Indian Church.

A Dissertation

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submitted to the Faculty of The College of Missions

in candidacy for the

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(approximately 100)

Section

Society for the Propagation of the
Gospel

Propaganda or

Volume

Table of Abbreviations.

Cf.	Compare (Latin, confer)
Ch.	Chapter
Col.	Column
Hist.	History
Ibid.	In the same place (Ibidem)
i.e.	That is (id est)
incl.	Including
I.R.M.	International Review of Missions
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society
M.R.W.	Missionary Review of the World
op. cit.	In the work quoted (opere citato)
Rs.	Rupees (an Indian coin worth approximately 35¢)
Sec.	Section
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
Trans.	Translation or translated
Vol.	Volume

There are various conceptions of nationalism, but the one which is incorporated here is that which has to do with a national consciousness, a feeling of unity among those inhabiting the same country. For the most part it is political unity which is meant, though this has been attended by an increasing emphasis upon unity of Indian language, customs, and manners. It

must be acknowledged that there is a bond of unity in the historic traditions and centuries of culture and in the religious myths which are immortalised in the

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Nationalism Defined.

Mahabharata and the Ramayana, but this is hardly sufficient. Under the rule of the British Empire a certain political unity existed, but that is no nationalism.

It undoubtedly has helped produce a nationalistic spirit which has encouraged many of the Indian people in desiring to bear the responsibilities of government themselves. Today, nationalism for India means the desire for independence from other-than-Indian hands -- social, cultural, political. In its religious aspect it means a freedom from Western ideas of thought and worship. Stated in more positive terms, it means the growing consciousness on the part of the Indians, that they have a culture, a way of thinking and acting, interpretation of

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ideas that are peculiar to themselves and yet have elements in them of value to all mankind. In other words, India has a distinct contribution to make toward the progress of the world, and the nationalistic spirit has been strengthened by the growing desire to make this contribution, which thereby lifts her from the ranks of pauperism into that realm where each gives his best and in turn receives the best of others made greater by his best. Ideal perhaps, but true nevertheless and practical in its application. It is the belief of many a Christian statesman -- Eastern as well as Western -- that the common bond in India and also in all the world will some day be found in devotion to Jesus Christ.

The first two chapters of this study establish the theory that the political life of India has always had a direct bearing upon her religious life. Not only that, but there is also evidenced a rotation of progress, arrest, degeneracy, and reform, with the rotation taking the form of a spiral which rises ever higher with each encircling movement. Following these chapters, there is presented a study of the rise and development of the nationalistic spirit with its inevitable effect upon the

religious and social life of the people, which finds expression in the establishment of reform societies. The leavening influence of Christianity enters in here in fully equal measure, and perhaps to an even greater extent than nationalism. Finally, there is a study of the Church in India as it is affected by this same spirit.

In the present instance it is a bit difficult to see the correct sequence of events, for the Christian influence is ever a reforming and transforming factor, and one that so permeates all of life that oftentimes its work is attributed to other causes. At least it is clear that the nationalistic spirit has produced conditions under which the numerous seeds of Christianity are growing prodigiously and becoming increasingly Indianized to the extent that the Church in Europe and America is forced to take cognizance of it and alter her methods of procedure, in order not to stunt the growth of what many lovers of India and her people feel may ere long be a plant of rare value to the religious realm.

A. The Hindu Period.

It is a well-known fact that the safety and permanence of a structure are largely dependent upon the adequacy of the foundation upon which it rests. This principle is no less true when applied to the understanding of present conditions in India. Hence, in order to evaluate properly what seems at present to be a close correlation between political life and religious institutions, this study must needs begin with those dim ages of India's history known as the Vedic period, information concerning which has been derived almost solely from the Hindu and Mohammedan Periods.

History of Political and Religious Life
in the
Hindu and Mohammedan Periods.

from the Vedic period, information concerning which has been derived almost solely from the Hindu and Mohammedan Periods. However, only incidentally affords any historical information. Archaeologists are gradually confirming by more concrete proof the theories already advanced by scholars.

Of the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India little is known except that they possessed large herds of cattle, and had built strongholds for self-protection. They are referred to contemptuously by their conquerors, the Aryan invaders, who could neither understand their language nor appreciate their religious practices. (1)

1. Rapson: Ancient India. p. 46

Those whom the Aryans overcame were originally known
A. The Hindu Period.

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1. Rapson: Ancient India. p. 46. Translation. Vol. II
 2. Kaegi: The Rigveda. p. 16, 17.
 3. Aiyangar: A History of India. p. 23
 4. Hymns of the Atharva-Veda (Griffith's Translation; also Bloomfield: Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLII, p. 113) The date of these hymns is uncertain and hence this reference cannot be used authoritatively for the Vedic period.

Those whom the Aryans overcame were originally known by the name of Dasas or Dasyus (1), but are generally known now as the Dravidian, or dark-skinned people.

The social and political organisation of the large part would probably be the same, but no hint is given that he was considered as the owner of the land of the people. If he became too powerful it was probable that he was resisted by an alliance of princes and clans, and was ready to force them to submit by means of violence if they could not be gained through the samiti. (1) The idea of a common origin and of common traditions which were constantly brought to mind in the epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, helped to hold the people together, as well as did their uniting to meet a common foe. (2) As the tribes advanced down into the Gangetic plain, they found it necessary to unite into larger communities in order to meet and overcome the indigenous people. Thus it came about that the tribal heads were replaced by powerful leaders upon whose shoulders rested the ever-increasing responsibilities of the developing monarchy. (3) As a rule, the kingship was hereditary, but most authorities grant the probability that in some cases the king was elected by the districts in assemblies of the tribe. (4) At all events, the power of the king was not absolute, for the assemblies (samiti) were very clearly a vox populi which was not to be disregarded. Originally there was apparently

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1. Rig-Veda: VII, 83. Griffith's Translation. Vol.II
 2. Kaegi: The Rigveda. p. 16,17.
 3. Aiyangar: A History of India. p.23
 4. Hymns of the Atharva-Veda (Griffith's Translation; also Bloomfield: Sacred Books of the East, Vol.XLII, p.113) The date of these hymns is uncertain and hence this reference cannot be used authoritatively for the Vedic period.

no settled tribute given the king; only voluntary gifts were brought to him. Later, however, the amount to be given came to be more or less fixed and could be exacted by the king. In capturing lands, a large part would probably be his share, but no hint is given that he was considered as the owner of the land of the people. If he became too powerful it was probable that he would be resisted by an alliance of princes and clans, who would be ready to force their wishes by means of violence if they could not be gained through the samiti. (1)

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In the childhood of a race as well as of the individual, the analytical powers are undeveloped, and hence a certain degree of carefreeness is found. Uncivilized man pays little heed to aught save the need or desire of the immediate present. When material objects seem to bring pain on the one hand, and pleasure on the other,

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1. Kaegi: The Rig-Veda. p. 17.18.78. Also Cambridge History of India, p. 94-96.
 2. Aiyangar: A History of India, p. 33

it is natural that because of the fear of the one and the desire for the other, a form of worship--primitive though it might be--would grow up. Usually a superior Being was acknowledged but rarely worshipped, and numerous other spirits were acknowledged which were nearly always conceived of as demons. If harm befell any one, he considered it to be due to some offense offered to the demon. Hence a ceremony of propitiation must be performed. A mound of earth, a tree, or some desired place might be considered the demon's dwelling place, and hence the temple. Little use was made of idols or priests, except as they came in contact with Hinduism. (1) The Aryans who invaded the Panjab about 1500 B.C. (2) brought with them a form of nature worship, which, while it bordered upon animism, was nevertheless a step forward. They saw that all action in human life was caused by men and women, and thus they thought that all action seen in nature must be attributed to divine persons. They thought that each province of the universe was ruled by its own separate deity, not having conceived as yet the idea of one supreme creator and governor of

1. Mitchell: The Great Religions of India, p. 252-263.

2. Griswold: The Religion of the Rig-Veda, p. 34.

3. Op. Cit. p. 105

3. Op. Cit. p. 106

all things. (1) Remembering the patriarchal form of government, it is worthy of note that the father of the family, assisted by the wife, officiated at the household sacrifices which were the earliest worship of the Aryans. These sacrifices "were simple and homely attempts to propitiate the heavenly powers. Each morning and evening the householder and his family assembled around the sacred flame." (2)

It is true that there were greater sacrifices which were offered in special emergencies, or by kings or sages to gain extraordinary ends. The idea of sacrificing in order to gain some particular result rapidly over-shadowed all else, and it was believed that should one deviate the slightest jot from the customary mode of procedure the sacrifice was thereby rendered ineffective. Hence, it was extremely important that he who performed the sacrifice should know every detail of the ritual. (3) Furthermore, as the Aryans advanced into India "the mass of the people had in general far too much to do in waging war against the aborigines to be able to occupy themselves with other matters." Thus it was that surrounded by dangers political, social and

1. Clayton: The Rig-Veda and Vedic Religion, p. 50-52; also Kaegi: The Rig-Veda, p. 28.

2. Op. Cit. p. 105

3. Op. Cit. p. 106

111, 109-112.

6. Varquhar: Primer of Hinduism, p. 68.

religious, the guardians of the old worship came more and more into the foreground. (1) The priesthood gradually acquired the monopoly of celebrating all such sacrifices and added ceremony to ceremony till a most unwieldy structure of sacerdotalism had arisen.

Under these conditions it is easy to realize that the priest had become superior to the king in the eyes of everyone, himself included. This fact shows that the caste-system had been brought one step nearer. (2) Some authorities question any Vedic reference to the existence of caste, (3) though in one of the late Vedic hymns there is a clear indication of the Hindu tradition concerning the origin of caste. (4) The Laws of Manu, which were very evidently based upon the Vedas, refer clearly to the division of Hindu society into four classes. (5) Since the growth of this law book covers several centuries and did not reach its present shape until A.D. 200, this reference cannot be taken as clear proof of the recognition of caste in Vedic times. (6)

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1. Kaegi: The Rig-Veda, p. 31, 32.
 2. Hunter: A Brief History of the Indian Peoples, p.59; also Smith: Oxford History of India, p. 40.
 3. Smith: Oxford History of India, p. 40.
 4. Hymns of the Rig-Veda (Griffith's Translation) X,90,12. "The Brahman was his mouth, of both his arms was the Rajanya made. His thighs became the Vaisya, from his feet the Sudra was produced."
 5. Laws of Manu (Trans. by Buhler) I,87;II,45,80,127; III,109-112.
 6. Farquhar: Primer of Hinduism, p. 88.

For the purposes of this study it is necessary to go a little further into the question of caste, since it continues to be the all-important factor in determining the nature of life among Indians. Not only so, but the fundamental unity in India lies in Hinduism with its caste regulations and its veneration of the Brahman. Without question a certain amount of stability arises because of caste, due in part to the principle of subordination upon which it rests. (1) Ketkar says that "purity is the pivot on which the entire system turns. Rank, social position, economic condition have no direct effect on the gradation from the standpoint of caste. They are simply aids to establish the status. Caste in India is strong and rigid because the ideas of the people regarding purity and pollution are rigid." (2) Whatever the primary reason, the fact remains that caste is a unifying element, though not a commendable one. Purity would seem a most desirable basis for unity, but not a purity so closely bound up with forms and ritual that were these lacking, nothing of what the Hindus mean by purity would remain.

- gods, represent the supreme god that was
1. Smith: Oxford History of India, Introd. p. x.
 2. Ketkar: History of Caste in India, p. 122.
 1. Smith: Oxford History of India, p. 40
 2. Clayton: The Rig-Veda and Vedic Religion, p. 34.

being evolved at the end of the Rig-Vedic period." (1)

It is necessary to realize fully that, on the other hand, caste is a very great disintegrating factor, for each caste-group is hostile to the other, thus rendering well-nigh impossible any united political or social action. Furthermore, it fosters class pride and makes impossible any feeling of brotherhood between man and man. (1)

From the beginning of the caste system down to the present, though to a gradually decreasing degree, the political and social life has been inextricably interwoven with the religious life. During this period, to disregard the rules governing one's behaviour towards his fellows and to violate even one tittle of the laws of purity were sins to be atoned for, if at all, only by countless re-births.

It is no wonder that a group of thinkers arose in revolt "against the great sacrifices and the impossible ceremonialism of the priesthood." (2) In their eyes, the sage exceeded the priest in importance. The Vedic nature-deities began to give way to more "abstract deities, whose names, compound in form, originally epithets of older gods, represent the supreme god that was

- 1. Smith: Oxford History of India, p. 40
2. Clayton: The Rig-Veda and Vedic Religion, p. 34.

being evolved at the end of the Rig-Vedic period." (1)
The reaction from the mechanical, lifeless character of the religion of the Brahmans showed itself in the formation of many sects which advocated various "opinions concerning the nature of God and the soul, the relation between God and man, and the best way of attaining salvation." There was being evidenced a strong desire for some other method than the apparently hopeless one of rebirths. Some looked to philosophy for the hope of their salvation; others hoped to find it in mortification and torture of the flesh. (2)

For a period of some six centuries or more, India's history reveals a panoramic picture of the rise and fall of numerous minor states, the most noteworthy of which was that of Magadha or South Bihar. The story of this state begins with the Saisunaga Dynasty which was established before 600 B.C., but whose first ruler of note was the fifth king Bimbisara, who reigned approximately from 582 to 554 B.C. According to some theories, it was during his rule that the Persians entered India under the leadership of Darius. As far as any influence upon the political life of India is concerned, there

1. --- On --- 44-46.

1. MacDonell: Hymns from the Rig-Veda, p. 13; also Clayton: The Rig-Veda and Vedic Religion, p. 169, 170.

2. Smith: Oxford History of India, p. 49.

3. Muller: Introd. to McGindrie's Trans. of Ancient India by Megasthenes, p. 13.

4. Megasthenes: Ancient India (McGrindle's Trans.) p. 208.

5. Ref. to them in Arthashastra and the Mahabharata.

might as well have been no Persian invasion. (1) From the standpoint of art, and slightly from that of religion, it is worthy of comment. Image-worship was encouraged by the advance in art. (2)

Megasthenes, whose veracity has been questioned by some students of Indian history and yet whose account very evidently forms a basis for the theories that those same students have advanced, furnishes some of the principal source material for this period. He was sent as an ambassador to Sandrokottos, or Chandragupta, on behalf of King Silenkos. (3) He reports that "from the time of Dionysos to Sandrokottos the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established." (4)

Few details are given concerning the democratic governments which were set up in time, (5) but one custom which impressed the historian is worth quoting here. "The law ordains that no one among them shall, under any circumstances, be a slave, but that, enjoying freedom, they shall respect the equal right to it which all possess; for those who have learned neither to domineer

1. Op. Cit., p. 44-46.

2. Konow: Article in Indian Antiquary, 1909, p. 145-9. Referred to by F.W.Thomas in Cambridge History of India, Ch. XIX, p. 480, footnote.

3. Muller: Introd. to McCrindle's Trans. of Ancient India by Megasthenes, p. 13.

4. Megasthenes: Ancient India (McCrindle's Trans.) p.208.

5. Ref. to them in Arthashastra and the Mahabharata.

3. Smith: Op. Cit. p. 66.

4. Thomas: Cambridge History, Ch. XIX, p. 484.

over nor to cringe to others will attain the life best adapted for all vicissitudes of lot; for it is but fair and reasonable to institute laws which bind all equally, but allow property to be unevenly distributed." (1)

Into a faction-riven country (2) came Alexander the Great, conquering as he marched along. "Although the direct effects of Alexander's expedition on India appear to have been small, his proceedings had an appreciable influence on the history of the country. They broke down the wall of separation between west and east, and opened up four distinct lines of communication, three by land and one by sea." (3) This, in the light of the present study was no insignificant fact. The idea of a single sovereignty was not new in India, the conception of a universal Emperor having already been set forth in the Vedic period. (4) However "the small states and free tribes of the Panjab and Sind had been weakened by their fights with Alexander, and their overthrow by an ambitious Indian power was thereby rendered easy. The fear of another

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1. Megasthenes: Op. Cit. p. 37, 38. Critics have denied the universality of the above statement, but even they admit that any slave had the right of purchasing his freedom, and it was a well-known fact that no Aryan (and this included even the Shudra) could be enslaved. Cf. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 481, 482.
 2. Arrian: Ancient India, p. 204. He reports Megasthenes as having estimated 118 tribes.
 3. Smith: Op. Cit. p. 66.
 4. Thomas: Cambridge History, Ch. XIX, p. 494.

foreign invasion, and the conviction that it would be impossible to withstand it without union, probably made such states now willing to accept the protection and supremacy of a strong Indian kingdom. Valuable lessons in statecraft, especially regarding the building up and management of great kingdoms, were also doubtless learnt from the empire of Alexander. The ground was thus ready for the erection of a powerful native kingdom in Hindustan. Such a power soon after came into being when Chandragupta, a descendant of the ruling family of Magadha, who had been a fugitive in the camp of Alexander, took advantage of the confusion following the great king's death to gather a large army, and with its aid to make himself master first of the Panjab and next of the extensive kingdom of Magadha, then groaning under the oppression and misrule of the last king of the Nanda dynasty." (1) It is noteworthy that the Mauryas were of low ancestry as were the Nandas before them. This was rather a blow to the old system of caste, but the fact remains that from that time on, it was no unaccustomed event to have a low-

1. Aiyangar: Hist. of India, p. 55; also Smith: Early History of India including Alexander's Campaign, p.43.

2. Muller: Introd. to McGrindle's Trans. of Ancient India, p. 7.

3. Aiyangar: Hindu India from Original Sources, p. 82; also Smith: Asoka, p. 80.

4. Smith: Asoka, p. 81.

born man in power in India. (1)

When Chandragupta came to the throne of Magadha in 322 B.C., the dominions of the crown were extensive. (2) He was at first hailed as liberator by those who had suffered oppression at the hands of Seleucos Nikator, but the note of rejoicing soon became one of lament, for it was only the name and nationality of the oppressor that had been changed. (3) In spite of this fact, an elaborately organized system of government was developed under him, so that without great difficulty every part of his vast domain could be reached. A further testimony to the success of his organization was that with his decease it did not decay, but was practically intact by the time his grandson Asoka came to the throne in 269 B.C. "The empire which came down to him comprised all Northern India and the Dekkan." (4) Indeed it is stated that "his dominions were far more extensive than British India of today, excluding Burma." (5) In this extensive territory there were numerous autonomous states, which were more or less obedient to the sovereign power. There were also hill and forest tribes

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1. Thomas: Op. Cit. p. 480.
 2. Smith: Early Hist. of India, incl. Alexander's Campaigns, p. 43.
 3. Muller: Introd. to McCrindle's Trans. of Ancient India, p. 7.
 4. Aiyangar: Hindu India from Original Sources, p. 82; also Smith: Asoka, p. 80.
 5. Smith: Asoka, p. 81.

3. Aiyangar: Op. Cit. p. 82.

4. MacDonell: Asoka, p. 87.

who cared little for any government and were allowed to live practically as they chose. (1) From the two Kalinga Edicts is gained some idea of what Asoka's ideal of good government was, namely a benevolent paternal despotism. (2)

It was in the war against the above mentioned Kalingas of what is now Orissa that an utter revulsion came over him against the human slaughter of war. From thenceforward "he devoted himself to peace and the pursuit of a virtuous life both for himself and the people entrusted to his care." (3) Judging from the various edicts and from what historians have written, "Asoka must have made life happier for great multitudes of people, not only by the measures he took for their physical comfort, but by teaching them to live useful lives and think noble thoughts." (4) He who makes a study of the development of a nation and of its people does well to consider carefully what has been made possible along the lines of intellectual, moral, and religious growth as well as along the line of giving to all people the opportunity of sharing in the responsibility.

Mahayira Jnatrigutra, the quasi founder of Jainism,

1. Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, p. 106.
2. Edict I, quoted in Smith: Asoka, p. 191-2. It is the Borderers' "Edict and sets forth the duties of officials to the border tribes. He instructs them that they 'must make these people trust me and grasp the truth that the King is to us even as a father; he loves us even as he loves himself; we are to the King even as his children.'"
3. Aiyangar: Op. Cit. p. 82.
4. MacDonell: Asoka, p. 87.

ties of government. From the former aspect, this period of India's history radiantly shines forth from the darkness which surrounded it; and even from the latter point of view it appears not altogether unfavorable. True, there was a strongly centralized, absolute monarchy, but probably the majority of those who cared for governmental positions to the extent of being fitted for them were in office.

However, a much more important consideration must be taken up at this point. As early as the sixth century B.C. the revolt against those who had long been considered spiritual guides was well-defined. Due to the incomplete process of Hinduizing the population and also due to the clearly marked distinctions of race, many religious sects arose in an attempt to find something real and vital to put in the place of a system based on arrogant class-pride. (1) As the national life attained a high degree of unity under the peaceful reign of Asoka, so it was almost inevitable that there should be a unifying of the religious life as well. And, thus, much interest was given to the teachings of Mahavira Jnatriputra, the quasi founder of Jainism,

1. Smith: *Asoka*, p. 72; also Aiyangar: *Hindu India*, p. 32; Smith: *Oxford Hist. of India*, p. 94.

1. Smith: *Op. Cit.* pp. 48, 49.

2. Aiyangar: *Op. Cit.* p. 37, 38.

and to those of Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. With peace in the land and with the king very actively promoting the Buddhist doctrines, (from about 259 B.C. he was even considered Head of the Buddhist Church), the people had every encouragement to be thinking about the more vital religious truths which were being proclaimed. Hence it is not surprising that Jainism gained wide recognition and Buddhism became a world religion. (1) In Edict XII Asoka insists upon the necessity of tolerance of the opinions of others. Otherwise even that which a person himself believed would lose its beauty and power. He declares, "This is the desire of the Beloved of the gods that men of all creeds shall have heard much and shall possess holy doctrines. . . . The Beloved of the gods thinks not so much of gifts and honors as that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds and a large one." (2) Nothing was more inevitable than that any creed might, and did, as a rule, find a home in India at this time. "Buddhism, as Asoka found it, was an Indian sect. He made it a world religion, not adding to, or modify-

1. Smith: Asoka, p. 92; also Aiyangar: Hindu India from Original Sources, p. 82; Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, p. 94.

2. Aiyangar: Op. Cit. p. 87, 88. 83-4, 72-3; also Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, p. 95.

ing or improving it, but by emphasizing the elements of universality that it had always contained. He realised and acted on the truth that true religion is personal and spiritual, not a matter of ceremonial or of ritual, but of conviction and conduct. He set at naught the claims of priestly privilege and prerogative and he rose above all distinctions of race. (1)

From its inception, the important questions pertaining to the whole body of Buddhist believers were brought before Church Synods or councils for decision. The royalty sometimes personally patronized these meetings, the climax of interest being reached in the time of Asoka. He ordered that every five years some of his vassals should go out to preach the sacred law. (2) Extensive plans were carried out in the way of sending delegates from a church congress at Pataliputra to spread Buddhism in the distant countries of Asia and Africa and possibly to Europe as well. (3) The vitality of a religion is somewhat proportionate to the desire of its adherents to share its benefits with others. Judged thus, Buddhism had much in its favor.

1. MacPhail: Asoka, p. 85.

2. Aiyangar: Op. Cit. p. 83, Edict III of the Rock Edicts.

3. Aiyangar: History of India, p. 63-4, 72-3; also Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, p. 95.

~~Jain~~ Under the tolerant rule of Asoka, even Brahmanism fared a little better, but it did not have in it those qualities which enabled it to stand out against the more captivating claims of Buddhism. It will be of profit at this point to compare the three religions of India of that day. "Jainism and Buddhism differ materially from Brahmanism in their organization. Brahmanism is strictly confined to the caste system, in which a man's social and religious duties are determined once and for all by his birth. Jainism and Buddhism made a wider claim to universality. In theory, all distinction of castes ceased within the religious community. In practice, the firmly established social system has proved too strong for both religions. It is observed by the Jains at the present day, while in India itself, it absorbed the Buddhists many centuries ago. Brahmanism is not congregational. Its observances consist partly of caste-duties performed by the individual, and partly of sacrifices and ceremonies performed for his special benefit by priests. In ancient times there were, therefore, no Brahman temples.

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1. Rapson: Ancient India, p. 63-9.
 2. Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, p. 155-6; Rawlinson: Indian Historical Studies, p. 63-66; Dutt: Ancient India, p. 141-6; Beal: Buddhist Records of the Western World, p. 83-87.
 3. Aiyangar: Op. Cit. p. 106.
 4. Smith: Op. Cit. p. 180-190.

Jainism and Buddhism were, on the contrary, both congregational and monastic." (1)

Almost immediately upon the break-down of the Maurya empire, foreign invasions began. Following and also contemporary with these were numerous uprisings on the part of individual states. And again, there was a period in which one of these gained and held the supremacy so that once more a period of centralization, expansion and peace prevailed. This was known as the Gupta period. (2) Another descent into the maelstrom of wars between states was followed by another ascent to realms of order under Harsha, though not so clearly defined as before, because he did not seem to possess that genius which creates a permanent machinery that will hold together in the hands of another. (3) So, again there was turmoil--first the Rajput clans gained the ascendancy, and then the border states came to the fore. In the North-west the Gurjara-Pratiharas led in power, while in other sections other indigenous groups developed. (4)

In the tenth century, attention is drawn to the

-----the very basis of all political sys-

1. Rapson: Ancient India, p. 68-9.
2. Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, p. 155-6; Rawlinson: Indian Historical Studies, p. 63-66; Dutt: Ancient India, p. 141-6; Beal: Buddhist Records of the Western World, p. 83-87.
3. Aiyangar: Op. Cit. p. 106.
4. Smith: Op. Cit. p. 180-190.

Chola kingdom, which was highly systematized. "The most remarkable feature of the administration of the time was the self-government of villages. Each village was a self-governing unit and had its general assembly, which annually elected the great executive body of the village, known as 'the great men of the village.'" (1) In spite of the fact that the South was somewhat isolated politically, nevertheless there were religious and philosophical movements originated there that very vitally affected the thought of the North. Once again the close connection between a unified political life and a clear-cut, effective religious life is seen. (2) in India. The Rajput clans were Thus a review of India's history reveals that the times when the various races of the land have been most closely welded are those times when the central government has recognized the great variety of social customs and of religious beliefs, and has, at the same time, worked out a system which allows for self-organized village communities, which are grouped into states, the sum total of which make up the empire. "Local government thus forms the very basis of all political sys-

1. Rapson: Op. Cit. pp. 111-112.
2. Barth: The Religions of India, pp. 133-9. This
1. Aiyangar: Op. Cit. p. 151; Smith: Op. Cit. p. 212.
2. Smith: Op. Cit. p. 198.
dia, pp. 342-5; also Dutta: Op. Cit. p. 151.

tems in India." (1) It is true that there was an overlord, either foreign or native, whose good will must be gained, and local government was usually carried on in accordance with his wishes, but still these systems of local government encouraged the Indian in the ideas which are now crystallizing in the nationalistic movement.

The waves which mark the rise and fall of a unified national spirit mark also the ebb and flow of India's religious experience at this time. And as the reign of Asoka marked the climax of Hindu India's political life, so that same era marked the peak of the golden age of Buddhism in India. The Rajput clans were wholly dedicated to the stamping out of Buddhism, and were so successful that by the end of the tenth century it had practically disappeared, though traces of it lingered until the twelfth century. Had there been no concerted effort to oppose it, it would, nevertheless, have become extinct, for the natural causes of its decay are far weightier than any direct opposition to it. (2)

1. Rapson: Op. Cit. pp. 111-112.

2. Barth: The Religions of India, pp. 133-9. This author thinks it improbable that there was any conscious opposition at all. Cf. Hopkins: The Religions of India, pp. 342-3; also Dutt: Op. Cit. p. 151.

In the first place, its monasticism rendered impossible a hearty acceptance of it by the laity. It became a religion for the clergy. Its theology was couched in terms that had no meaning for any save those who withdrew from the world about them and gave themselves up completely to studying and discussing the minutiae of forms and ceremonies. The very thing which had prepared the way for Buddhism by the revolt against Brahmanism had now attached itself to Buddhism and was causing its decadence. Also, it had no popular mythology as did Hinduism to hold the attention of the people. Hinduism, having assimilated many of Buddhism's ideas and practices which were attractive to the masses, was now getting the upper hand, for in addition to the image-worship, the use of temples, the festivals and pilgrimages, (all Buddhist features) it had at its command the Brahman who made it possible for their religious belief to complement the national legend. (1) The monastic ideal was already accepted by Hinduism as the play Shakuntala (written during the sixth century A.D.) will reveal,

1. Barth: Op. Cit. pp. 133-9; Aiyangar: Op. Cit. p. 115. Shakuntala, uttered under such slight provocation as not being greeted at once upon his arrival, was regarded as within reason, though all bemoaned her plight.

2. Op. Cit. Numerous references throughout the play. The ascetic's first words to the King as the latter approaches the sacred abode of a hermit are in effect, "May you have a son who shall be a world ruler and who shall be righteous."

the entire play reflecting clearly the life of the hermits, and their words and feelings determining largely the course of events. (1)

During the period just reviewed, chiefly in its political and religious aspects, there have been found three elements which serve to unify the Indian people--1 - the instinct for self-preservation which made them unite against a common foe, 2 - the ideas set forth in the ancient epics which are yet the common fund of knowledge throughout India regardless of race or caste, and 3 - the element of caste itself. Even Buddhism and Jainism which denounced it were unable to escape the firm hold which it held upon all. It is not a constructive unifying factor, however, and breaks down that real unity of spirit which gives to each his due regardless of birth, and which is the only sure foundation for a nation in the best sense of the term. Politically, there are the indications found in literature of the desire for a world-ruler from among the Hindus. (2) This idea would be current, it is true, but to what extent it

1. Kalidasa: Shakuntala, Act IV. The curse of Durvasa upon Shakuntala, uttered under such slight provocation as not being greeted at once upon his arrival, was regarded as within reason, though all bemoaned her plight.

2. Op. Cit. Numerous references throughout the play. The ascetic's first words to the King as the latter approaches the sacred abode of a hermit are in effect, "May you have a son who shall be a world ruler and who shall be righteous."

The Mohammedan Period.

was considered in its practical applications one can only surmise. However, there must have been some realization that in those times when a large part of the country came under the power of one ruler, better living conditions prevailed, and progress was made along various lines. That the seeds of a nationalistic spirit were being sown by means of systems of local government is evident, for as opportunity was given to some to participate in governing, the desire for that same opportunity would naturally come to many others. What was true in a political way was also true in the realm of religion, and these latter movements correlated the political ones very closely as has already been pointed out. At this time they were about to give place to the Marathas under Sivaji. By 1691 even Tanjore and Trichinopoly far to the South had been brought under the sway of Aurangzeb to the extent of paying tribute at least. This is, in brief, the story of the Mohammedan period which comes to a close in the latter part of the eighteenth century. (1)

As one reads the story of India during this ca-

1. Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, p. 217.

B. The Mohammedan Period.

As early as the eighth century A.D. a new force in the political and religious world was beginning to appear, but did not attain alarming proportions until the twelfth century. This was none other than Mohammedanism. By 1340, the empire of Sultan Mohammed had been extended to include a large part of the Deccan as well as the Coromandel coast. From time to time during the Mohammedan period, various Hindu states were formed and rose in revolt with varying degrees of success, though from 1340 to 1556, at which latter date Akbar came to the throne, Islam lost ground on the whole. Great expansion and power attended the Muslims from 1556 until 1691, at which time they were about to give place to the Marathas under Sivaji. By 1691 even Tanjore and Trishinopoly far to the South had been brought under the sway of Aurangzib to the extent of paying tribute at least. This is, in brief, the story of the Mohammedan period which comes to a close in the latter part of the eighteenth century. (1)

As one reads the story of India during this era, it becomes a part of the life of the people. A further
1. Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, p. 217.
2. Elphinstone: History of India, pp. 305-6.

tire period one cannot fail to be impressed by these two facts: an almost complete isolation of the Moham-
medan from the Hindu, and an intensification of the
common bond of feeling between the Hindus. The two
are very closely connected, of course, and any expla-
nation of the one necessarily involves the other.

The Mohammedan was an invader with radically different
and absolutely fixed religious ideas. He had a temper
quite different from that of the Hindu, and his ways
of living were different. Their Code demanded ill-
treatment of anyone who differed in religious beliefs,
and the Hindu was not long in discovering that fact.

"In India there was a powerful priesthood, closely
connected with the government, and deeply revered by
their countrymen; and a religion interwoven with the
laws and manners of the people, which exercised an
irresistible influence over their very thoughts. To
this was joined a horror of change and a sort of pas-
sive courage which is perhaps the best suited to allow
time for an impetuous attack to spend its force." (1)

Thus Mohammedanism spread gradually and even then
did not become a part of the life of the people. A fur-

1. Elphinstone: History of India, pp. 305-6.

ther reason lay in the modus operandi with which they approached a city. The latter was called upon either to embrace Mohammedanism or to pay tribute. If they refused the first command, the offending city was besieged. When the tribute was agreed to, all privileges were restored to the inhabitants. This included freedom of worship. It is recorded that in one case it was necessary for the Mohammedans to rebuild some demolished temples and to reimburse some Brahmans for an unjust seizure of money and property. (1)

him The acme of tolerance was reached in Akbar, and one is prone to magnify the fine spirit with which he encouraged other religions to set forth the best they had, as well as the indications of his having lived on a higher spiritual plane than his contemporaries or even his immediate successors. In spite of the fact that he was an exception to the rule, his work did not die with him, so it would be well to consider his ideas briefly.

of similarity, and so he asked

repr Akbar came to the throne when but a lad of fifteen, but was under the close supervision of his councillor until he was eighteen. His first policy, ac-

1. Rawlinson: Indian Historical Studies, pp. 108-114;
-----Hist. of India, p. 346.

1. Elphinstone: Op. Cit. pp. 302-3.

3. Thompson: History of India, p. 170; Smith: Op. Cit. p. 346.

According to Rawlinson, was to form a united India. The writer goes on to state that he recognized her greatest curse to be disunion and tried to discover some way of uniting the religious differences. (1) There would seem to be some question whether he attributed to religious differences the primary cause of disunion. At any rate he tempered his religious zeal with a wealth of canny ideas that would have done credit to any politician. His marriage with a Rajput princess not only appeased and gratified the Hindus, but it also enabled him to discover that Hinduism was neither so monstrous nor so immoral a creed as was supposed. (2) In 1562 another reform was initiated that brought great relief to the Hindus, namely the abolition of the Jizya or poll-tax on infidels and also the pilgrim-tax. (3)

It is true that Akbar showed a spirit of tolerance which the twentieth century would do well to emulate. He saw that Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and Christianity had elements of similarity, and so he asked representatives of all the various creeds to come in to discuss them at the court in the hope that they might

----- his policy of forcing people to accept
1. Rawlinson: Indian Historical Studies, pp. 108-114;
Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, p. 346.
2. Ibid.: Op. Cit. pp. 108-114.
3. Thompson: History of India, p. 170; Smith: Op. Cit.
p. 346. "Court of Akbar." (Trans. from the original Latin
by J. E. Hayward)

find a common basis upon which a universal religion could be founded. (1) Incidentally it might be said that none was founded as far as the masses were concerned. The arguments before the court were wordy battles and ineffective--as arguments usually are. When Akbar ventured to step into the Mosque as its head and preach to the people concerning his ideas of God and the brotherhood of man, he gained little more response than considerable surprise that he would dare to do so unorthodox a thing. Great hopes were entertained by the Jesuit missionaries, Aquaviva and Monserrate, that he would become a Christian. (2) They, too, had evidently not learned the lesson that no one was ever argued into the Kingdom of God.

With the rule of Aurangzib a greater defence of Mohammedanism was encouraged. He felt that his predecessors had been too lax with the Hindus, so he repealed the act abolishing the poll-tax, forbade the Brahmans of Benares teaching the Vedas, ordered the destruction of temples and idols and in all respects tried to carry out the letter of the Mohammedan law. As evidence of the success of his policy of forcing people to accept

1. Rawlinson: Op. Cit. pp. 108-114.

2. Monserrate: Commentary, written "On his journey to the Court of Akbar." (Trans. from the original Latin by J.S.Hoyland)

his religion, witness the numerous wars and the insurrection of the Rajputs which paved the way for the rise of Hinduism in its political and social aspects as well as in its religious view. (1) study of the long period There were other causes which brought about the decay of Mohammedanism as a political power and to a large extent as a religious power as well, since theoretically the State and the Church were all one. The rulers held the reins of government largely on the strength of personality. Supremacy based on force demands strength and vigor of body, large armies, and a well-defined nation or a political constitution behind the rule of the Sultans. These were all lacking. Furthermore, the Mohammedan Code is not concerned with universal morality or the well-being of man in the generic sense, and hence could not long endure. (2) Of course, on the other hand, the Hindus were very humanly much more incensed over the wrongs against themselves than over those against mankind. and racial feeling. Doubtless the doctrine of the Unity of God and the brotherhood of believers (with the Mohammedans there were no distinctions of class or color, and even the

- 1. Thompson: Op. Cit. pp. 186-190. 422-4.
2. Thompson: Op. Cit. pp. 225-232.
3. Thompson: Op. Cit. pp. 192-3.

meanest-born might occupy the throne) had an ennobling effect upon the various religious ideas current at that time. Certain it is that there was no fusion between the Muslim and the Hindu. A study of the long period of alien rule indicates that the soul of a people is not touched that way--at least, not one whose character and instincts have been so firmly rooted in the preceding centuries as are those of India. (1)

Once again the conclusion is inevitable that lack of union has brought upon India the vast train of wars and disorder which have existed there from time to time. (2) There is also further evidence of the increased opportunity of disseminating religious ideas during a time of centralized government. Perhaps the most noteworthy fact which this period reveals is the welding together of the Hindus in the face of the Mohammedan invasion and occupancy. In the South, a united force was secured to march against the Mughal through an appeal to strong religious and racial feeling. (3) And so the native sons of India once more rose to the crest of the wave, assured that her gods and her welfare were theirs.

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1. Lane-Poole: Mediaeval India, pp. 422-4.
 2. Rawlinson: Op. Cit. pp. 105-6.
 3. Thompson: Op. Cit. pp. 192-3.

A. Under Portuguese Rule.

Any one acquainted with the beginnings of American History well knows that the discovery of this continent was seemingly accidental. The goal of Columbus was not America but the Indies, and there were other navigators who were fired by the idea of reaching the Far East. So in 1498 Vasco da Gama reached Calicut. This was an occasion for great rejoicing on the part of the Portuguese, who dreamed of **History of Political and Religious Life** under European Influence

adventurers, but admirals with a royal commission to open up a direct commerce with Asia, and to purchase Eastern commodities on behalf of the King of Portugal." (1) With the very first expedition to India there went chaplains whose sphere of service was with the Portuguese soldiers, but even King Manuel I (1493-1521) considered it a part of their most sacred duty to plant Christianity--Romanish, of course--in the newly discovered regions. Goa, very early made the capital of the Portuguese work, soon became an ecclesiastical hierarchy. (2) Elphinstone

1. The Imperial Gazetteer: The Indian Empire, Vol.II, p. 447.
2. Richter: History of Missions in India, p. 44; The Capuchin Mission Unit: India and its Missions, pp. 88-9.

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says of the Portuguese: "They treated the prejudices of the natives with a contempt which neither the Moguls nor the British would have ventured on in the plenitude of their power. They insulted the religion of the country, used their whole influence without disguise to draw over adherents to their own, and at times endeavored to enforce conversion by such violent and sanguinary means as provoked extensive and desperate insurrections. To prevent the falling off of converts once gained, they established an Inquisition." (1) Those who suffered from this policy of the Portuguese were not all of Hindu or any other of the indigenous faiths. Cabral, arriving at Cranganor in 1501, had met with several of the "Christians of St. Thomas", the church having been in existence for some thirteen hundred years (prior to 1694) and under the jurisdiction of Babylon. These Syrian or St. Thomas Christians asked protection and help from the Portuguese, but at first the latter were too much occupied with their own administrative and personal affairs to give any heed to other matters. At last it came to the attention of the Portuguese that these Christians did

1. Elphinstone: Rise of British Power in India, p. 26.

not acknowledge the authority of the Roman Church, and a Franciscan friar was sent to try to convince them of the error of their ways. "He is said not only to have preached daily in their churches, which were built after the fashion of the Pagod Temples, but also to have built several churches among them after the Latin way, and at last to have erected a college at Cranganor in the year 1546 in order to do the instructing of their Sons in the Learning and Usages of the Latin Church." (1) The St. Thomas Christians did not refuse to attend the College, but remained steadfast in their refusing to submit themselves to the Pope. At last the Portuguese resolved to try what violence would do, and accordingly having seized Mar Joseph, the Bishop, ordered him sent to Rome. He was crafty enough to find a way to return to India before ever setting foot on Roman soil, and from thenceforward the straits in which the Portuguese found themselves in their attempts to reduce the Syrian Christians were numerous and not altogether pleasant. At last, Alexius de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, determined to accomplish the desired

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1. Geddes: The History of the Church of Malabar, p. 9. pp. 14, 10.
 2. Coleridge: Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier, Vol. I, pp. 146-163 (Letters 13 and 14), Vol. II, pp. 23-31 (Letter 59).

end even at the expense of trickery. The scheme worked and accordingly in 1599 "their Church Service books were altered to suit the Roman doctrines, invaluable manuscripts of theology and church history were burned The Syrian Church in Malabar . . . continued its submission for half a century, with much ill-will on the part of the Syrians and their leading arch-deacon. . . . No less than three of their bishops, in or through the Inquisition at Goa, came to violent ends. " (1)

However, it must be said that the work of the Portuguese was not without merit, though in the light of the present it seems very superficial. Rome had her apostles, the greatest of whom was Francis Xavier, who reached Goa in 1542. It is hard to credit so capable and sincere a man with methods so ineffective, but he reveals clearly in his letters the belief that confession, the repetition of the Creed, and baptism were the only requirements for a sure entrance into Heaven, and his great concern over the last mentioned indicates the great efficacy which he attributed to that ordinance alone. (2) Xavier himself lived an itinerant life, being satisfied, appar-

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1. Richards: The Indian Christians of St. Thomas, pp. 14,15.
 2. Coleridge: Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier, Vol. I, pp. 146-163 (Letters 13 and 14), Vol. II, pp. 23-31 (Letter 59).

ently, only when he was teaching the catechism to large groups of people (chiefly children), and baptising vast numbers. Then when he left the village a copy of the catechism was left "and an overseer appointed, whose duties were to instruct the rest, to administer baptism in cases of emergency, and above all to repeat the principal articles of belief in the hearing of the people on holy days. These overseers received a salary from the Portuguese Treasure." (1) The farthest step forward was in the stress which Xavier put upon the instruction of children. Even though that instruction was chiefly upon the Catechism, the Commandments and the sacred prayers, still it was an attempt to train the children. He says in one of his letters that he considers that of even greater importance than the baptising of infants, and this was no small admission for one so convinced of the value of that rite as he was. (2) It is furthermore worthy of note that the majority of people reached by Xavier were low caste. It must be borne in mind, however, that they had nothing to lose socially. Indeed there was nothing but gain for them in taking

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1. Richter: History of Indian Missions, pp. 49-50; also Coleridge: Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier, Vol. I, p. 155.
 2. Coleridge: Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 24.

this step, so the fact that they came in large numbers (1) is neither so indicative of a common impulse to better things nor so sure a sign of an awakened group consciousness as might be at first supposed. Still, it was a movement upward on the part of the masses, and as such has a place here.

That the Catholic Church should actively continue in spite of superficial methods for approximately one hundred and fifty years (1498-1640) is not surprising however. A strong injunction was issued the King of Portugal in 1545 in a letter written by Francis Xavier to the effect that it was the duty of the king to care for the souls of his subjects, and that he should force by threat of dire punishment the viceroys and governors to gain adherents to Christianity. (2)

The policy of the Church did not change in any appreciable degree until 1605, the time of Nobili. He deplored the mercenary motives which led so many to become Christians, and at last decided that he would do well to follow the example set by the Apostle Paul of being all things to all men. In keeping with this idea, he severed connections with the Portuguese, set himself

1. Coleridge: Op. Cit., Vol. I, pp. 153-155.

2. Richter: Op. Cit., pp. 50-54.

up as a Brahman from Rome and hence a religious leader and guide, thus fully sanctioning the existence of caste in the church. Since he considered caste a semi-political and semi-social institution with only a very incidental religious significance, he did not see the necessity of considering baptism as an actual break with the old ways of living. Indeed, he encouraged each caste to meet in a separate church in order that caste regulations might not be violated. (1)

the Political chicanery and ritualistic religion are not conducive to the healthy life of a nation, and so, while Portugal seemed at the height of her power under the rule of Menezes (1595-1605) there were forces at work which were diametrically opposed to the Roman Church. The Dutch had entered India in 1600 and by 1640 had gained the ascendancy. In 1758 the Dutch gave way to the British, who had followed close upon the former, as had also the Germans, Danes and French.

and The first charter of the East India Company was granted in 1600 by Queen Elizabeth to 'the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies.' (2) In 1612 a treaty was obtained with

1. Richter: Op. Cit., pp. 58-70. pp. 337-341.

2. Quoted in Smith: Oxford History of India, p.337.

the Mogul governor of Gujarat which established the right of the English to trade at four specified places. There were frequent encounters with the companies of other European powers and also with the rival English Company. In 1708 the two English companies united, forming 'The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies,' and it is this company which figures in the following considerations. The chief reason for the supremacy of the British over the other European powers at this time was her superior naval power. (1)

The history of these European settlements might about as well have been a history of these European people in any large, undeveloped country as far as any consideration of the Indians themselves was concerned. The Europeans went there largely for self-aggrandizement and it was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that Protestant missions began and that any importance was attached to the Indian as an individual with a mind and a personality worth considering.

1. Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, pp. 337-341.

2. Lyall: British Dominion in India, pp. 143-5.

B. Under The East India Company.

The period following the battle of Panipat in 1761, which for a brief time destroyed the Maratha confederacy, was one of transition and consequently of unrest. Hindu hopes of supremacy were only temporarily on the wane as was evidenced by the activity of predatory armies of the Marathas in the Deccan and in Hindustan, and of two Mohammedan kingdoms in the South, ruled by the Nizam and by Haidar Ali respectively. The period is one of darkness because of the war clouds which never entirely cleared away, though the East India Company maintained its power on the whole. (1)

With the capture of Bengal by Clive as a result of the Battle of Plassey in 1757, England was convinced that the East India Company needed to be put under national control. The wealth of Bengal made it seem particularly unwise that there should no longer be any supervision or regulation of the commercial company which was, in a sense, their representative. (2) Accordingly the Regulating Act of 1773 put the executive and judicial administration on a firmer footing by limiting the powers of the proprietors of the Company, by transform-

-----This plan is not altogether feasible, but is based

1. Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, pp. 469-485.
2. Lyall: British Dominion in India, pp. 143-6.
1. Smith: Oxford Student's Hist. of India, p. 264.
2. Lyall: Op. Cit., p. 156.
3. Hunter: Brief Hist. of the Indian Peoples, p. 187

ing the Governor of Bengal into a Governor-General in Council, and by establishing a Supreme Court of Judicature as well as a Council which should assist the Governor-General. (1) Thus "the system of administration set up by the Act of 1773 embodied the first attempt at giving some definite and recognizable form to the vague and arbitrary rulership that had devolved upon the Company. From that date forward this outline of Anglo-Indian government was gradually filled in. The administrative center was now at any rate distinctly located at Calcutta with the Governor-General as its acknowledged head, invested with the chief control of the foreign relations of the three Presidencies and deriving his authority from a statute of the English Parliament." (2) Under the provisions of the Act of 1773 Warren Hastings became the first Governor-General of Bengal in 1774, and in that position he created a British administration for the Indian empire. (3) He advocated a close relationship between the Crown and the rulers of the Native States, which would give assurance to the latter of some permanency and consistency in matters of government. The plan is not altogether feasible, but is based

1. Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, pp. 516-523.

----- Cit., pp. 217-219.

1. Smith: Oxford Student's Hist. of India, p. 264.

2. Lyall: Op. Cit., p. 156.

3. Hunter: Brief Hist. of the Indian Peoples, p. 187

on an understanding of human nature and a desire to treat the Indian as a human being. On the other hand the act was framed by those who had had no first-hand knowledge of Indian life, but who were attempting to mold that life to fit English patterns. Consequently grave mistakes were made until some remedies were effected. (1)

From 1784 until 1858 a system of "double government" was in use by which "the Company was put under the control of a minister directly responsible to Parliament." This was not entirely conducive to good government as there was still opportunity for the Company to go beyond the will of the Crown. Uprisings on the part of the Maratha Confederacy and of the State of Mysore under Haidar Ali showed the need of a strong hand to direct the affairs of the Company. Marquess Wellesley (1798-1805) worked out a plan whereby the native states furnished money rather than men. This was to do away with an undisciplined and untrustworthy native soldiery. Since the subsidy was apt to be irregularly paid, there arose the system of assignment of lands for payment of troops. (2) This was tried

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1. Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, pp. 516-523.
 2. Lyall: Op. Cit., pp. 217-219.

in Bengal, and no doubt marked the beginning of resentment on the part of the natives at what was inevitably a way of gaining territory. At any rate the above-mentioned uprisings were quelled and a somewhat unified India appeared.

During these years, those from 1828-1835 when Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General were noteworthy, because here began "the history of the British in India as benevolent administrators, ruling the country with a single eye to the good of the natives." (1) The reforms which he introduced and which were important both from a humanitarian and a progressive point of view were the abolition of sati (the practise of widow-burning) in 1829, the suppression of thags (hereditary assassins who made strangling their profession) in 1826, and the opening up of possibilities for the entrance of educated natives into the service of the Company. (2)

The Charters of 1813 and 1833 should also be mentioned, for the former gave permission for missionaries to enter India freely, and the latter offered free admittance to Europeans who desired to settle there. More than this, it stated in unequivocal terms that "No na-

1. Hunter: Op. Cit., p. 206.
2. Ibid. p. 207.

tive of the said territories nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, color, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company." (1) Prior to 1813, there had been active opposition on the part of the East India Company towards all missionary endeavor. It was only by dint of great courage, tact and perseverance that Carey and others of the pioneer missionaries went to India before permission was officially granted. Especial mention should be made here of the work of Alexander Duff, the great promoter of education with English as the medium of expression. His method is seriously questioned at present, but at that time it did serve to force upon people Western ideas and concepts which could never have been transmitted through any of the indigenous languages. The opening up of Western ideas to the Indian was like casting a stone into the water. Radiating circles were at once put into motion, ending -- in infinity. Their influence goes on indefinitely. So in India with the contact of Western ideas and culture.

1. Smith: Indian Constitutional Reform, p. 71 (Quoted from Sec. 87 of the Charter)

tion The Sikhs, another native group, pushed to the forefront of attention at this time. This sect was originally a religious group which advocated the abolition of caste and the necessity of leading a pure life. It was transformed into a territorial power by the down-fall of the Mogul Empire. (1) "Under this new Hindu federation, much more closely knit together by ties of race and common faith than the Marathas, the people became animated by a martial spirit and a fiery enthusiasm such as the Hindus had not hitherto displayed. The history of the Sikhs illustrates a phenomenon well known in Asia, where an insurrectionary movement is always particularly dangerous if it takes a religious complexion, and where fanaticism may endure and accumulate under a spiritual leader until it explodes in the world of politics with the force of dynamite." (2) It is this consideration which makes it important to have some knowledge of the aims and working of the nationalistic movement. --people indifferent as to the eating of beef

and Governor-Generals came and went, each succeeding one advancing in some degree the solidarity of English rule, though much remained to be desired in the condi-

- 1. Hunter: Op. Cit., pp. 212-13.
2. Lyall: Op. Cit., pp. 181-182.

tion of the country. In 1856 Lord Dalhousie felt compelled to urge upon the Court of Directors the annexation of Oudh on the ground that the British Government was responsible if anarchy and suffering continued to exist there. The British had had to protect this territory by force on behalf of the Newab and Wazir, and to make no attempt to correct injustices was to seem to sanction them. The King of Oudh accepted the decision as inevitable and offered no resistance. However this measure proved to be the culmination of a series of events in Dalhousie's annexation policy which contributed greatly to the bursting into flame of the resentment smouldering in the hearts of the Indians. (1)

cart: The native rulers did not draw the fine distinctions which the British did in justifying their acts; they only knew that very rapidly all territory was going into the hands of the British. There was a general fear that the Government intended to make everybody Christians--people indifferent as to the eating of beef and pork, and unmindful of the conventions about ablutions and ceremonial which were so dear to the hearts of both Hindu and Mohammedan. Furthermore, there seemed

1. Hunter: Op. Cit. pp. 218-220. also Smith: Oxford History of India, pp. 712-715.
2. Smith: Op. Cit. p. 712.

to be a plan for substituting an English for an Indian civilization. This was due to the spread of education, the introduction of the steam-engine and the telegraph, and to various reforms along Western lines. In addition to all these considerations, there was a slight exaggeration in the minds of the Bengalis as to their own importance in the success of the British. Complementary to this was a resentment at being prevented from holding some of the higher governmental positions. Sir Henry Lawrence, more discerning than the rest, had foreseen the danger of holding them back, but the Mutiny broke out before he could remedy matters. The final contributing cause was the "greased cartridges" rumor. The pig is unclean to Hindu and Mohammedan alike, and no amount of assurance could stem the tide which had risen beyond all control. (1) The importance of the revolt of the Sepoys can be seen in the following figures: out of an army of 238,002 nineteen percent were Europeans, the remainder being natives. (2) The position of the British would seem to have been very precarious, but they had the advantages of

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1. Hunter: Op. Cit. pp. 222-223; also Smith: Oxford History of India, pp. 712-715.
 2. Smith: Op. Cit. p. 712.

a centralized and settled government at home, patience and self-restraint in refusing to enter on territorial conquests or projects of Indian aggrandizement until they had strength enough to succeed, and the mutual confidence of the Company's servants in one another. (1)

Thus it was that in November of 1858, Lord Canning issued a royal proclamation to the effect that the Queen had assumed the government of India, and declaring "in eloquent words the principles of justice and religious toleration as the guiding policy of the Queen's rule." (2) In the light of certain of the causes of the Mutiny, it is well to note the words of Her Majesty: 'Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favored, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they

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1. Indian Gazetteer: Vol. II, p. 468. 728-9. (Queen's
 2. Hunter: Op. Cit. p. 230. 858 quoted.)

abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure. economic, social and religious

life 'And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.' (1)

England had hereby declared herself to be a Christian nation, owing allegiance to God, but not interfering in the religious pursuits of her subjects. And furthermore she had dedicated herself to the extension of governmental responsibilities of the Indians depending upon their willingness to fit themselves in every way for such responsibilities. the beginning of the

Nation This was a distinct advance as far as the development of the nationalistic spirit was concerned. To have had the idea of a world ruler was a beginning, and to have been given opportunities under various rulers for holding places of authority was still more. But to have had the seeds of Christianity planted and finding especially favorable conditions for growth

1. Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, pp. 728-9. (Queen's proclamation of November 1, 1858 quoted.)

among the low-caste, plus the introduction of English as a medium of education with its attending Western ideas of political, economic, social and religious life was the releasing of a dynamic force which was inevitably to bring about the desire for greater participation in all matters pertaining to Indian life. This had been somewhat foreseen and was theoretically provided for in the proclamation quoted above. The measure of political unity attained when Queen Victoria assumed the direct government of British India had a fairly ready acquiescence of the Indians due to the long persistence of the idea of a world ruler, and thus it was that, freed temporarily at least from internal warfare, the Indian leaders began to think along those lines which led to the beginning of the Nationalistic Movement.

A. Gradual Development of Nationalism in India

(1885-1919)

The British had aroused Englishmen to a realization that India had sensibilities and feelings, had ideals which were ingrained, had hopes and aspirations, the attainment of which meant more to them than did the satisfaction of mere physical needs, and to understand which meant a knife-thrust into India's very heart. Hence the royal proclamation of 1858 which not only gave effect to the appointment of Indians to places of responsibility as soon as they were fitted for performing the incumbent duties, but also definitely proposed that this action be taken. That this view was held by some of England's leading statesmen is shown in the following quotations: "John Bright in 1858 said, 'You may govern India, if you like, for the good of England, but the good of England must come through the channel of the good of India.' (Parliamentary Debates, N.S. Vol. CLII, col. 346) Gladstone said, 'Our time in India depended on our stay there being profitable to the people and our making them understand that, It will not do for us to treat with

Chapter III

The Rise and Development of Nationalism

A. Gradual Development of Nationalistic Spirit.
(1858-1916)

Vol. I The Mutiny had aroused Englishmen to a realization that India had sensibilities and feelings, had ideals which were ingrained, had hopes and aspirations, the attainment of which meant more to them than did the satisfaction of mere physical needs, and to misunderstand which meant a knife-thrust into India's very heart. Hence the royal proclamation of 1858 which not only gave official sanction to the appointment of Indians to places of responsibility as soon as they were fitted for performing the incumbent duties, but also definitely proposed that this action be taken. That this view was held by some of England's leading statesmen is shown in the following quotations: "John Bright in 1858 said, 'You may govern India, if you like, for the good of England, but the good of England must come through the channel of the good of India.' (Parliamentary Debates, N.S. Vol. CLI, col. 346) Gladstone said, 'Our time in India depended on our stay there being profitable to the people and our making them understand that. . . . It will not do for us to treat with

- 1. Cross: Self-Government in India, p. 7.
2. Chitral: India, p. 87.

contempt or even with indifference the rising aspirations of this great people.' (Parl. Debates 4th Series Vol.III, col.94) Lord Northbrook said, 'Never forget that it is our duty to govern India not for our own profit and advantage but for the benefit of the natives of India.'" (1)

One of the contributing factors to nationalism was that English had been made the medium of instruction in many of the schools. "For the first time in Indian history, there were Indians from every province who had in the English language a common medium for the exchange of thoughts which none of their own vernaculars could have afforded them, as these are rarely understood outside the particular region where they are commonly spoken. To their English education they owed, too, a new conception of Indian nationhood." (2)

the successes of Russia in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. England was fearful of Russia's advance upon India and therefore regarded any sympathetic heralding of Russia's success as dangerous and seditious. Accordingly the Vernacular Press Act was passed in 1878 in order to prevent the spread of ideas injurious to England's wel-

1. Cross: Self-Government in India, p. 7. Education,
2. and Chirol: India, p. 87.

A. -1- Review of Early Legislative Enactments.

1832. The first step towards a change in government was taken in 1861 when councils were established for the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. A limited number of non-official members, either Indian or European, were to be appointed by the Government. These Councils were purely consultative and the questions they might discuss and advise upon were of lesser importance, but still it was a step forward. (1)

able. The next event which has direct bearing was not an enactment of any legislature, but was the coming into office of Viceroy of Lord Lytton (1876-1880). His term of service is remembered largely because of two things which aroused much Indian opposition, namely the Vernacular Press Act and the Afghan War. The former was a result of publishing in the vernacular newspapers the successes of Russia in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. England was fearful of Russia's advance upon India and therefore regarded any sympathetic heralding of Russia's success as dangerous and seditious. Accordingly the Vernacular Press Act was passed in 1878 in order to prevent the spread of ideas injurious to England's wel-

1. Whitehead: Indian Problems in Religion, Education, and Politics, p. 283.

fare. It was enforced only once, and was repealed in 1882, but it had the effect of rousing the ire of India's leaders to such an extent that any move made by England was looked upon with more critical and less sympathetic eyes. For the purpose of this study it does not matter whether the reader be pro-English or pro-Indian in his view of the Press Act, the Afghan War and the Arms Act, for the truth of the following comment made by Sir Surendranath Banerjea is undeniable. "The reactionary administration of Lord Lytton had roused the public from its attitude of indifference and had given a stimulus to public life. In the evolution of political progress, bad rulers are often a blessing in disguise. They help to stir a community into life, a result that years of agitation would perhaps have failed to achieve. They call into being organized efforts which not only sweep away their bad measures, but create that public life and spirit which survives for all time to come, and is the surest guarantee of future and abiding progress. Lord Lytton was a benefactor, without intending to be one." (1)

The Afghan War and the Arms Act added fuel to the

1. Banerjea: A Nation in Making, pp. 63-4.

flame which burned with such intense heat that within four years, during the administration and under the encouragement of Lord Ripon (the appointee of Mr. Gladstone, who sympathized with the Indians in the Vernacular Press Act affair), the Act was repealed. This, of course, was not the only result. The middle class of India's population had begun to realize its power, and was rapidly shaking itself loose from the bondage in which it had so long been held.

Another bill which caused an outbreak of Indian enthusiasm for more power was the Ilbert Bill introduced in 1883. "Up to that time no persons other than Europeans, or in more technical language 'European British subjects', could be appointed justices of the peace with jurisdiction over persons of the same category, in districts outside the limits of the Presidency towns. The bill proposed to remove from the Code of Criminal Procedure 'at once and completely every judicial disqualification based merely on race distinctions,' and consequently to confer on many native or Indian-born magistrates authority to deal with Europeans, as with anybody else." (1) This aroused the wrath of the Eng-

1. Smith: Oxford Hist. of India, p. 757

lish and Europeans, such as indigo planters and others. The opposition was so great that the bill was withdrawn, but the ill-feeling aroused in the Indians by the opposition could not so quickly be abolished.

questions discussed "were Representative Government, or Self-Government; Education, general and technical; the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the Administration of Criminal Justice; and the wider employment of our countrymen in the public service." (1)

At the same time that plans were being made for the second National Conference to meet in Calcutta in December 1885, plans were progressing for a meeting of the Indian National Congress in Bombay. Both had the same object and program, but each was unaware of the plan of the other until too late to attempt a union. The Bombay meeting was organized by Mr. Allen Hume, who was a retired member of the Indian Civil Service. "When he was Collector and Magistrate at Stawal he had rendered invaluable service in quelling the Mutiny in its incipient stage." He had retired from service in 1883, his last office being that of Home Secretaryship of the Government of India. (2) There was this differ-

1. Banerjee: A Nation in Making, p. 85.
2. Year Book for 1919, p. 645.

A. -2- The Indian National Congress.

So unified was Indian thought - educated Indian thought - becoming that by Christmas week of 1883 the first National Conference was held in Calcutta. The questions discussed "were Representative Councils, or Self-Government; Education, general and technical; the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the Administration of Criminal Justice; and the wider employment of our countrymen in the public service." (1)

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1. Banerjea: A Nation in Making, p. 86.
 2. Year Book for 1919, p. 645.

ence between the two groups - that organized by Mr. Hume was working for all India, and as such could not discuss matters with reference to each particular province. The national conference meeting in Bombay was less comprehensive in its scope and was designed to discuss local problems of nationalism and self-government. December of 1886 marked the time of the first real meeting of the Indian National Congress, thinking of it as a consolidation of forces which were working along the same line. The name "The Indian National Congress" was chosen because its "principal aim was faithfully to echo the public opinion of all India." (1) Its fundamental principles are as follows: 1--Fusion into one national whole of all the different and discordant elements that constitute the population of India; 2--Gradual regeneration along all lines, mental, moral, social and political, of the nation thus evolved; 3--Consolidation of union between England and India by securing the modification of such of the conditions as may be unjust or injurious to the latter country. the office, but, "The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of

1. Ibid. p. 646.

Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire, and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organizing the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country." (1)

Every delegate is obliged to express in writing his acceptance of the creed and his willingness to abide by the Constitution and rules framed under it. The Constitution is unalterable except by a Resolution of a majority in Congress assembled. At the various congresses the number of delegates has varied from five hundred to a thousand.

Nothing was said as to what should be the qualifications for President of the Congress. It was the opinion of many that only an Indian should hold the office, but, freedom in the matter being allowed, sometimes it was held by an Indian and sometimes by an Englishman.

1. Op. Cit., p. 646., p. 90.

2. Whitehead: Op. Cit., p. 284; also Montagu-Chelmsford: Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, pp. 55-61.

The President was selected by a Reception Committee and the one selected accepted the position. It might be well to add here that Mr. Naoroji presiding at the second meeting said that such a meeting was possible only under British rule. The Congress was therefore not for expressing sedition and rebellion against the British. (1)

By 1892 the Government of India acknowledged that benefit had been derived from the advice from the Indian members of the Councils, and accordingly urged a larger participation in advising on governmental affairs. The Councils were to be enlarged and corporations or associations could nominate men for office, though appointment was still made by the Government. While they were not willing to use the term 'election', they did, almost as a matter of course, accept the nominations made by the recommending bodies. A further advance was made in that the Budget was no longer a tabooed subject for discussion. (2) In the administration of Lord Curzon (1899-1905), the nationalistic spirit was increased by the partition of Bengal. The Presidency had got beyond the power of

1. Chirol: Op. Cit., p. 90. 5; also Chirol: Op. Cit.,
2. Whitehead: Op. Cit., p. 284; also Montagu-Chelmsford: Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, pp. 55-61.

a single governor and Lord Curzon deemed it advisable to divide the large area and have an Eastern division as well as a Western -- the Eastern being largely Mohammedan and the Western Hindu. The measure met with unexpected and intense opposition from the Bengalis on the ground that "the Bengal nation was being maliciously torn asunder." (1)

but Hitherto the Bengalis had been practically a nation unto themselves, but now their cause seemed to merge with that of the Mahrattas and of educated Indians in general so that an Indian nationalism emerged, the force of which was greatly increased by the unifying process just mentioned. (2) Indeed it was just at this time that the Extremist party set forth its ideas of autonomy and 'self-help'. It was clearly evident that they desired to control the Congress, but there was clear-cut division upon the matter, and in 1907 the Extremists broke away from the Moderatists. It was not until 1916 that the two groups re-united and when that event occurred the Extremists swung the Congress. In 1912 and 1913. At this time the constitution was amended to include the attainment of a system of self-govern-

1. Smith: Op. Cit., pp. 774-5; also Chirol: Op. Cit., p. 116.

2. Chirol: Op. Cit., p. 120.

A. -3- The Moslem League.

At this point it would be well to consider the movement which was current among the Mohammedans. In 1906 the Moslem League was organized to meet the increasing demands of young Mohammedans that they have a share in the political life. Prior to that time a very few of their number had gone into the National Congress, but for the most part they had been content to be leaders in educational circles. These leaders began to realize that they were hampered in their full participation of world interests by their non-participation in politics. Therefore the Moslem League was organized with the following objects stated: 1--Promotion of loyalty towards the British Government; 2--Protection of political and other rights and interests of Indian Mussalmans and to place their needs and aspirations before the government in temperate language; 3--Promotion of concord and harmony as far as possible between Mussalmans and other communities. (1) In order to keep abreast of other movements, a change of opinion was expressed in 1912 and 1913. At this time the constitution was amended to include the attainment of a system of self-govern-

1. Year Book for 1919, pp. 647-8.

ment in India under the Crown. These changes may be seen in the following modifications of the objects above stated. The second was modified by the omission of the terms 'temperate language', and a fourth was added to the other three, which read as follows: "Without detriment to the foregoing objects, attainment, under the aegis of the British Crown, of a system of Self-government suitable to India, through constitutional means, by bringing about, amongst others, a steady reform of the existing system of administration, by promoting national unity, by fostering public spirit among the people of India and by co-operating with other communities for the said purposes." (1) elections did not encourage that responsibility which it is necessary that a people should have if they are to judge any situation aright. They were still endowed chiefly with power to criticise but not to act. Accordingly, one seat on the Governor-General's Council and one on each of the provincial executive councils were reserved for Indian members. These reforms were evolutionary and not designed by Lord Morley as a step towards parliamentary government. They were based on the principle

1. Ibid. Gu-Chelmsford: Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, p. 62.

A. -4- Later Legislative Measures.

"In November 1905, Lord Minto had replaced Lord Curzon as Viceroy, and in December Lord Morley became Secretary of State for India. In these circumstances Lord Minto of his own initiative but with the full cognizance and approval of the Secretary of State, followed Lord Dufferin's example in appointing a committee of Council to consider among other matters the increase of the representative element in the Indian and provincial legislative councils." (1) The idea was to bring about closer association between the people and the Government as far as public questions were concerned. It was realized that narrow franchise and indirect elections did not encourage that responsibility which it is necessary that a people should have if they are to judge any situation aright. They were still endowed chiefly with power to criticise but not to act. Accordingly one seat on the Governor-General's Council and one on each of the provincial executive councils were reserved for Indian members. These reforms were evolutionary and not designed by Lord Morley as a step towards parliamentary government. They were based on the principle

1. Montagu-Chelmsford: Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, p. 62.

2. *Indian Magazine*, 20:469-71, June 1924, *Rise of Indian Nationalism* by Tarakhnata Das.

3. Whitehead: *Op. Cit.*, p. 285.

that the final decision of all questions should be kept to the executive government. (1)

Regardless of the fact that some of the Indians felt that Lord Morley considered their desire for larger responsibility a mere childish craving for the moon and accordingly felt that the Reforms were pacifiers only, (2) still the elective principle was fully established for non-official members; they could "move resolutions on any matters of public importance" and criticism of the executive was allowed. (3)

As time passed by, there were various governmental measures of a repressive nature which were strongly opposed -- measures such as the Press Act of 1910, the Seditious Meetings Act of 1911 and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1913. These acts were resented because they were evidences of racial discrimination. Because of them no Indian could possess ordinary sporting arms or ammunition without a license, Indians had little chance of bearing arms in defense of their country since the commanding officers had the right of acceptance or rejection, and the commissioned ranks of the army were not open to Indians. In the matter of social reform,

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1. Montagu-Chelmsford: Op. Cit., pp. 6-7, 168-9.
 2. Current History Magazine, 20:469-71, June 1924, Rise of Indian Nationalism by Tarakhnata Das.
 3. Whitehead: Op. Cit., p. 285.

B. A Nation Comes Into Being. (1916-1927)

especially with reference to education and sanitation, the Indians made demands for larger grants displaying the oft-noted tendency to suppose that the Government had at its disposal vast resources of money. Then of course there was a never-ceasing demand for more liberal institutions. By 1914 all but the smallest provinces had legislative councils. (1) And in 1916 the demand for self-government was openly avowed at the Congress at Lucknow. the white man. For the major part of his life Up to this time the development of a nationalistic spirit had been quite gradual. Now, however, it took great strides forward under the impetus furnished by the World War. A million and a half men from India participated, and their close contact with men from any other countries opened to them wide vistas of the cause), thought and life of other nations. It was inevitable that they should imbibe much of the nationalistic spirit which was displayed on every hand. inevitable deliverer when he returned to that country in 1916. "Without wealth or political power or military force of any kind he had fought a splendid fight for justice against the white people of a large Dominion and had won the victory.

1. Montagu-Chelmsford: Op. Cit., pp. 13-17.

B. A Nation Comes Into Being. (1916-1927)

B. -1- Mahatma Gandhi, a National Leader.

At the same time that the World War was awaking India to even larger visions of nationhood, a great national leader had been coming into prominence, and this was none other than Gandhi. He had gone to Natal and the Transvaal in 1893 in connection with an Indian legal case. It was then that he realized the violent racial prejudice of the white man. For the major part of his stay in Africa his sympathies were actively on the side of his countrymen. In times of actual rebellion, however, he offered his assistance to the government and rendered valuable service. The good will which he showed at such times was not sufficient to cause any change of government (at least it was not a direct cause), and so in 1916 he initiated his movement for passive resistance which reached its climax in India in 1919. He was hailed throughout India as a veritable deliverer when he returned to that country in 1915. "Without wealth or political power or military force of any kind he had fought a splendid fight for justice against the white people of a large Dominion and had won the victory.

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1. Whitehead: Op. Cit., pp. 225-240.
 2. Ghirelli Op. Cit., p. 203.

And he had won it, without striking a blow, by his faith in a great moral principle which he claimed as essentially Indian. In an address delivered in 1905 he said that 'passive resistance' ought to be called rather 'soul-force', just as active or physical resistance was 'body-force', and he claimed that 'in India the doctrine was understood and commonly practised long before it came into vogue in Europe.'" (1) It is this same movement which is sometimes known as the Satyagraha movement. And it was this which is even more frequently spoken of as the Non-cooperation Movement, the latter term having been defined as "the treating of Government and of everything proceeding from Government as morally no less 'untouchable' than the lowest castes of Hinduism are to the 'twice-born' castes." (2)

There will be occasion to speak later of the effectiveness of the movement, but it might be well to pause here to recognise the part that Non-cooperation has played in the development of the nationalistic spirit. Whether or not it did "more for the spread of nationalism than any other movement has done", as one writer has said, still the remainder of his contention is undeni-

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1. Whitehead: Op. Cit., pp. 225-240.
 2. Chirol: Op. Cit., p. 205.

ably true that "it showed the Indians that they could unite and it revealed the latent strength of India." (1) And this, it must be granted, was no small achievement.

government, to be realized by progressive stages, depending upon the trustworthiness shown by the Indians. His announcement, together with the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in 1918, was a signal of war as far as the Extremists were concerned. The Moderatists would have welcomed its acceptance as being a salutary measure which would in time bring better things as it promised. This the Extremists doubted. In fact, they doubted so strongly that the Moderatists were no longer comfortable in their presence and withdrew to form the Liberalist party. It is easy to stand off at a distance and see that many times the Indians were impatient and did not always realize that conditions were improving, and also that they had not fully proved the truth of the principle that the things that really help one the most are those for which he himself has toiled long and ardently. However, this discrepancy which is so apparent is no more characteristic of Indians than it is of any other portion of humanity which has an ideal so fair

1. Asia, March 1926, p. 254, Religion and Practical Politics in India by W. Norman Brown.

B. -2- The Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

In 1917 Mr. Montagu announced in the House of Commons that he would promise the grant of responsible government, to be realized by progressive stages, depending upon the trustworthiness shown by the Indians. His announcement, together with the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in 1918, was a signal of war as far as the Extremists were concerned. The Moderatists would have welcomed its acceptance as being a salutary measure which would in time bring better things as it promised. This the Extremists doubted. In fact, they doubted it so strongly that the Moderatists were no longer comfortable in their presence and withdrew to form the Liberalist party. It is easy to stand off at a distance and see that many times the Indians were impatient and did not always realize that conditions were improving, and also that they had not fully proved the truth of the principle that the things that really help one the most are those for which he himself has toiled long and arduously. However, this discrepancy which is so apparent is no more characteristic of Indians than it is of any other portion of humanity which has an ideal so fair

1. Montagu-Chelmsford: Op. Cit., p. 277.

2. Fortnightly Review, May 1926, p. 689. Indian Swaraj and the Native States by Stanley Rice.

that to lack its immediate realization seems to make one despicable indeed.

Olivier A brief investigation into the above-mentioned Constitutional reforms reveals that the ideal aimed at by this new policy is "a sisterhood of States self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others modified in area according to the character and economic interests of the people. Over this congeries of States would preside a Central Government, increasingly representative and responsible to the people of all of them." (1) The plan herein suggested is that to which the name 'dyarchy' has been given, a system which "divides the Government into two halves, one of which is administered by the officers appointed by the Secretary of State and the other by ministers chosen from the elected representatives." (2) The list of transferred subjects, i.e. those which are transferred to the local government, includes elementary education, public libraries, public health, agriculture, cooperation, forests, liquor regulation, endowments and registration. The subjects reserved for British jurisdiction

1. Montagu-Chelmsford: Op. Cit., p. 277.
2. Fortnightly Review, May 1926, p. 689, Indian Swaraj and the Native States by Stanley Rice. 557. The Distort of Indian Dyarchy by Lord Sidney Olivier.

are police, courts, jails, prisons, taxation, finance, factory legislation, industrial welfare. (1) As Lord Olivier has stated, "The main purpose of a dyarchical constitution is the formation of a training ground in the working of Parliamentary institutions. . . . The majority express their opinion that except by some form of dualism it was not possible to afford an equally valuable training towards responsible Government in India and still to safeguard those conditions upon which Government depends." However, he sees clearly the danger of over-emphasizing the safe-guarding of the Government to the detriment of the training of subordinates for higher offices. (2)

The general dissatisfaction felt by the Extremists with respect to these Constitutional Reforms, together with the passing of the Rowlatt Bills in 1919 resulted in bitter hatred. This latter legislation came as a result of the report of a Commission sent to investigate conditions in Bengal. It was learned that a veritable reign of terror prevailed there to such an extent that the Government could not proceed with its usual work, and life was constantly in danger. Justice Row-

1. Century, Dec. 1925, p. 148. The United States of India by Edward Alsworth Ross.

2. Contemporary Review, May 1925, p. 557. The Disease of Indian Dyarchy by Lord Sidney Olivier.

latt presided over the Commission and "recommended that special legislation should be passed by the Government of India to enable them to deal effectively with this criminal conspiracy in any Province or district to which its activities might be extended." It was felt by those in authority that the necessary powers were given the Government under most careful safeguards, but the agitation against it was bitter, due largely no doubt to the many rumors which were spread abroad about it, one such being that "the police would have power to arrest any three or four men who were found talking together." (1) ~~public should be held, but~~ Coming as these various enactments did at the conclusion of the World War in which India had fought as a part of the British army (while overlooking for the time being, at least, the legislation against her), it seemed to call for some extra measure. Mr. Gandhi now went about over India setting forth his non-cooperation movement plans. And it is with these that the following division deals.

1. Whitehead: Op. Cit., pp. 302-3. Horniman: Amritsar and Our Duty to India, pp. 68-82.

B. -3- The Non-Cooperation Movement and Swaraj.

April 6, 1919 was proclaimed as Satyagraha Day "on which a complete hartal, or abstention from all ordinary business and the demonstrative closing of all bazaars, was to be observed throughout India and mass meetings held for the taking of the vow." (1) It was quite natural that as a result of the hatred expressed in various ways there should be acts of lawlessness and violence. There were outbreaks throughout the Panjab and also in the Bombay Presidency, but the culmination was reached in the affair at Amritsar. An order was given that no public assemblies should be held, but scarcely before the news of the proclamation could be made known, several thousands of Indians did assemble at the Jallianwala Bagh. Without so much as warning the crowds to disperse, General Dyer ordered the troops to fire. In the ten minutes of firing approximately 379 people were killed and of course many more were wounded. This took place on April 13. On the 19th, General Dyer posted two pickets on the street where Miss Sherwood, a missionary had been assaulted, and ordered that no Indian should pass through that street

1. Chirol: Op. Cit., p. 206; also Horniman: Amritsar and Our Duty to India, pp. 68-82.

except upon his hands and knees. The 'crawling order' continued in force until the 26th. The Committee of Enquiry which the Government appointed to report on the affair did not uphold General Dyer in his actions, but unfortunately before this report could be made General Dyer had been promoted to a higher position (not as any special mark of distinction, but rather in the natural course of events), and this made it appear to the Indians that the Government of India not only sanctioned his actions, but honored him because of them. (1) Immediately following this, the Non-cooperation Movement was launched in earnest.

The Congress felt that there was no other way open but to adopt the policy of progressive Non-violent Non-cooperation until the wrongs were righted and Swaraj was established. The literal meaning of the term is 'own rule' or self-government, but as it is usually used Swaraj means "absolute immunity from every form of foreign pressure, moral or material." (2) The Congress advised the surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignations from nominated seats in local bodies, the refusal to attend Government levies and Darbars, the

- 1. Whitehead: Op. Cit., pp. 305-318.
2. Chisolm: Op. Cit., p. 29.

gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges controlled or aided by Government, a gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers, refusal on the part of military, clerical and laboring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia, and the boycott of foreign goods. (1)

In order to offset the boycott against foreign goods, Gandhi set his followers to spinning home-grown cotton. This, he thought, would enable India to become economically independent and hence would increase the likelihood of her becoming politically independent. That he advised having the children spend four hours out of the six designed for school work in spinning shows the extent to which he would go. It is true that this was meant to be so extreme a measure for only a year, but he advised taking an hour of school time for spinning even after that. The nonchalance with which he says that literary training can be given in the two hours available is interesting to say the least. (2) He did not advocate spinning to the neglect of other gainful occupations, but still he urged the return to the cottage industry in no uncertain terms.

- 1. Gandhi: Young India, pp. xxxix, xl.
2. Gandhi: Op. Cit., p. 519.

There is no escape from the fact that Gandhi makes use of both noble and practical principles, but in applying the former he goes off in flights of mystical fancy and in the latter he goes to the lengths of absurdity. "What his own conception was of the government or institutions or social conditions of a Swaraj India he never revealed except in vague promises of a return to the pristine simplicity of the Vedic age, symbolized for the nonce in a return to the domestic spinning-wheel and the hand-loom. He struck, however, a more practical note when he preached temperance and self-abnegation and the spiritual need for peace between rival creeds and communities, and though he never went to the length of condemning caste as an institution, he pleaded strongly for the removal of untouchability as incompatible with real Swaraj which, whatever else it might mean, meant first and foremost, he declared, freedom and brotherhood for all Indians." (1) *the villages.*

They After five years of retirement he says now that he is taking the field again and is fully endorsed by the Swaraj party in his use of mass civil disobedience as the "ultimate weapon against the English." For proof

1. Chitral: Op. Cit., p. 212., May 11, 1927. Upton Cleave reports an interview with Gandhi at Sabarmati. Gandhi Plans to Oppose British.

that such a method will succeed, he cites the victory of the Christian Church over the Roman Empire, and also the conquering power of the missionaries. He says he would welcome the stay of the British in India if they would stay on Indian terms, for, as he says, the English "are just judges and efficient administrators." He would abolish railroads, factories, the system of Western education in India. (1) This, it seems, is Gandhi, the impractical, speaking. And yet he sways the thoughts and actions of thousands of India's people. And thus there is given one more illustration of the readiness with which people follow one whom they love and who they feel is interested in their welfare to the extent that he would risk life itself on their behalf. Herein lies the secret of Gandhi's popularity. While the movement toward Swaraj has been largely among the educated class, it is worthy of comment that the idea is taking hold of the people of the villages. They have learned in various ways that they can become independent from physical conditions and they are discovering from that, though perhaps as yet in not large measure, that independence is in a way an attitude of

1. Pasadena (Calif.) Star-News, May 11, 1927. Upton Close reports an interview with Gandhi at Sabermati. Gandhi Plans to Oppose British. p. 112.

3. Current History Magazine, June 1924, pp. 469-71. The Rise of Indian Nationalism by Taraknata Das.

mind. (1) The Extremists are beginning to realize that there must be a building up of a national character, and the creation of a new mind before true nationalism can come. (2) And as a result, in 1920 there was evidence of the rise of a popular nationalist movement with Gandhi the outstanding figure. A class-conscious proletariat and peasantry demanding changes toward betterment means that a sense of unity is developing. Accordingly at the Nagpur Congress of 1920 the Constitution was amended to read "The object of the All-India National Congress is to attain swaraj (home rule) by all legitimate and peaceful means," and Non-cooperation was the weapon to be used. This was followed in 1921 by an independence resolution, i.e. freedom from the British Empire. The next year found a breaking-up into three groups. The Right Wing advocated entering government councils so that they might work from the inside as well as from out; the Center group considered themselves to be the 'No Change' or Gandhi group, but it was clear that they were more or less fluctuating; the Left Wing declared itself in favor of a "Federated Republic of the United States of India." (3) The weapon

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1. The Survey: Dec. 1, 1925. New Water in Old Skins by H.A.Popley.
 2. Bevan: Indian Nationalism, p. 112.
 3. Current History Magazine, June 1924, pp. 469-71, The Rise of Indian Nationalism by Tarakhnata Das.

of Non-cooperation seemed not so popular now, and Gandhi himself acknowledged that there might be need of violence and bloodshed, though he still asserted that non-violence was the ideal. (1)

In 1923 the Swaraj party was formed with C.R.Das acting as President. The purpose was "to convert the National Congress to a policy of entering the legislatures and employing obstructionist tactics in order to force the government to grant further reforms in the direction of complete self-government." (2) This was, in a sense, a victory over Gandhi because he had advocated non-participation of any sort in affairs pertaining to the British Government. In return for this semi-victory, however, the Swarajists were pledged to spin 2000 yards of yarn per month -- or hire it done, and this last was a compromise which somewhat pained Gandhi. Still, the point of spinning was gained. And from his point of view this was important, for he is quoted as saying, 'I have thus dilated upon the spinning wheel because I have no better or other message for the nation. I know no other effective method for the attainment of Swaraj, if it is to be by peaceful and legitimate means.

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1. Missionary Review of the World, 1922, p. 361, Quoted from Gandhi's articles in Indian Mirror of July and August 1921.
 2. Political Science Quarterly 40:136-140, March 1925, Recent Political Events of July 1923-December 1924.

It is the only substitute for violence that can be accepted by the whole nation.' (1) And yet he may be wiser than they who are inclined to be scornful.

In 1924 the Swaraj members and the Independent Nationalists united, forming the Nationalist Party. They had as a major plank the advancing of the Constitution, but Lord Olivier, himself in favor of equal rights and a Laborite Secretary, warned them that constitutional reform must proceed gradually. (2) The National Convention in 1924-1925 issued the Commonwealth of India Bill which provides for the establishment of "The Commonwealth of British India" and for the prevention of communal electorates. This latter measure would eliminate some of the danger of ill-feeling between the Hindu and the Mohammedan communities. In the light of the study made in the first two chapters of this thesis it is interesting to read the beginning of the preamble of the above-mentioned Bill: "Whereas it is the desire of the Indian people to exercise anew the ancient and recognized right of self-government, enjoyed by their ancestors from time immemorial . . ." (3) It is not clear just what the originator of the Bill referred to.

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1. Nation, 120: 209-10, Feb. 25, 1925, Gandhi Sets India Spinning by Gertrude Marvin Williams.
 2. Pol. Sci. Quart. 40:136-140, Recent Political Events of July 1923-December 1924.
 3. Edinburgh Review, 242:279-290, Oct. 1925, A New Indian Constitution by W.A.J. Archbold.

Occasionally -- as under Asoka and again under Chandra-gupta -- the Empire attained that semblance of unity which makes possible the development of a feeling of nationalism, and it is also true that the people were governed by those of their own race for many centuries, but as for the people themselves being the ones who determined the personnel of the executive bodies and to whom the rulers were responsible for performing the duties entrusted to them, such was not found to be the case even occasionally, much less "from time immemorial." They are not the first, however, who have looked upon the past and have seen it through rose-colored lenses. However, for Indians who are looking forward to determining the future policy of the Government a careful study of their history might bring them to a conclusion similar to that suggested in the preceding chapters and also by Mr. Archbold when he said, "The whole lesson of India's experience is that you will not at present get good work done unless you put one man to do it and make him responsible." (1) led the strongest connecting link between the original Non-Cooperation Movement started by Gandhi with the vow of Satyagraha which appealed primar-

1. Ibid., p. 289.

B. -4- Hindu-Mohammedan Strife a Bar to Political Unity.

Reference has already been made to the movement among the Mohammedans for larger participation in political life. Since approximately one-fifth of India's population is Mohammedan, this is too important a factor to be overlooked. Furthermore, Hindus and Mohammedans have nothing in common from the standpoint of religion. It is clear therefore that a division of the population into two diametrically opposed groups would certainly be a barrier to Nationalism. Hence a study of the latter is incomplete without some further mention of the situation as regards these two major groups of India's people. sentiment makes Mohammedans feel more

"In spite of the very deep lines of cleavage between Mohammedans and Hindus their common antipathy to the spirit of the West tends to draw them fitfully together as was seen during the great Mutiny, and has been seen again much more recently when the lure of Swaraj brought them at least temporarily into line. . . . Racial hatred was indeed the strongest connecting link between the original Non-Cooperation Movement started by Gandhi with the vow of Satyagraha which appealed primar-

is- . . . but the organisation in India

1. Chitral: Op. Cit., pp. 35, 215, 217.
2. Contemporary Review, 131: 230-5, Feb. 1927, Psychology of Hindu-Moslem Riots by R.N. Panikhar.

ily to the Hindus and the Caliphate Movement which made its own distinct appeal to the militant spirit of a creed that had always relied upon the sword." (1)

For over two years now there has been increasing hostility between the Hindu and the Mohammedan communities. It is not solely a religious problem nor is it political nor yet is it that of racial difference.

"The real difficulty in India lies in the fact that the Hindus and Mohammedans are organized into exclusive communities, having not merely different places of worship, but different civil laws, social customs and institutions." (2)

Pan-Islamic sentiment makes Mohammedans feel more akin to Islamic communities elsewhere than to Hindu communities at home. The problem has been further accentuated by the representative system of government. "Communal electorates" makes for division, for representation should be of the people of India and not of particular communities. "Democracy, in its political applications, means the exercise of sovereign power by the people organized in political institutions. It is essentially competitive. In other countries the competition is between parties . . . but the organization in India

----- Op. Cit., p. 295.

1. Chirol: Op. Cit., pp. 35, 216, 217.
2. Contemporary Review, 131: 230-6, Feb. 1927, Psychology of Hindu-Moslem Riots by K.M. Panikhar.

is crystallised into communities. . . . The Swarajist party as the successor of the Non-Cooperation Movement was the only organization on a non-communal basis. But during the last session of the Assembly it broke down on a question affecting the Muslims in the Frontier Provinces." (1) In the United Province difficulty arose between the two groups because the Hindus started to proselytize among the Mohammedans and added thousands of the latter whose ancestors were Hindus to their number. (2) already a mighty force in India, and the British. The relation existing between the two groups might therefore be represented by two undulating lines, the undulations not being parallel. The places at which they come closest together represent those periods in Indian life when there has been heated opposition to some British measure, the remainder of the line representing the longer periods of comparative peace and quiet when the peculiarities of the individual communities are stressed, and discord and division within result. if not entirely obliterated.

India already takes her place as one of the original members of the League of Nations. She is indeed a

1. Ibid.

2. Whitehead: Op. Cit., p. 295.

B. -5- Conclusion. the great nation which she can be
only One cannot observe the rapidity with which changes
have come into the political life of India and feel any
assurance in prophesying as to the future. Seventy
years is a very short time in the life of a nation --
so short that one is forced to marvel at what has been
accomplished in a country where the people have for so
brief a time been given any opportunity to try to work
out for themselves a plan of their own making. Nation-
alism is already a mighty force in India, and the Brit-
ish so regard it, though often-times with a deplorable
lack of graciousness. There are many, however, who are
quite in sympathy with the aspirations which India has,
and it is due to such ones and also to the great men
that India herself has had that affairs have progressed
as smoothly as they have. Nationalism is a mighty
force -- yes; but it has not yet reached high tide.
That cannot be until illiteracy has been greatly reduced
and many of the divisions of Indian life have been di-
minished if not entirely obliterated.

India already takes her place as one of the origi-
nal members of the League of Nations. She is indeed a

nation now, but not the great nation which she can be only when her people feel conscious of a great bond of unity which shall hold them together in times of peace as well as in times of crisis and peril.

Chapter IV
Modern Reform Movements
an Evidence of
Nationalism plus Christianity

In the above chapters the relationship between political and religious life has had to do only with the established indigenous religions. The present chapter is somewhat parenthetical, for the reform movements originated primarily because of the influence of Christianity and not because of the nationalistic spirit. However, the latter is not at all a negligible factor, especially as regards the later movements. The reforms which Lord William Chapter IV
Modern Reform Movements
started by Christianity aroused a few Indians at least an Evidence of
to a realization that there were higher levels upon Nationalism plus Christianity
which to live and to think.

Following Farquhar's division, the remainder of this chapter falls into three sections: the first dealing with the Brahma Samaj as representative of the group which were purely reform movements due largely to Christianity; the second dealing with the Arya Samaj as representative of those affected by the developing spirit of nationalism and hence representative of those which defended the old faith, but incorporating reforms as a new revelation of what was thought to have been a part

In the above chapters the relationship between political and religious life has had to do only with the established indigenous religions. The present chapter is somewhat parenthetical, for the reform movements originated primarily because of the influence of Christianity and not because of the nationalistic spirit. However, the latter is not at all a negligible factor, especially as regards the later movements. The reforms which Lord William Bentinck inaugurated (referred to in Chapter II) together with the new ideas which had been started by Christianity aroused a few Indians at least to a realization that there were higher levels upon which to live and to think.

Following Farquhar's division, the remainder of this chapter falls into three sections: the first dealing with the Brahma Samaj as representative of the group which were purely reform movements due largely to Christianity; the second dealing with the Arya Samaj as representative of those affected by the developing spirit of nationalism and hence representative of those which defended the old faith, but incorporating reforms as a new revelation of what was thought to have been a part

1. The material for this chapter, unless otherwise stated, is based on Farquhar: *Modern Religious Movements in India*; Fussell: *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, pp. 202-236; and *India's Problem--Krishna or Christ*, pp. 347-369.

A. The Brahma Samaj.

of the old from the beginning but never understood; and the third dealing with the Ramakrishna Mission as representative of those which eagerly defended the old religions and cared not a whit for reforms as such. This would seem to mark the climax of the relationship between the changing political life and the religious life, but the very idea of nationalism involves concepts which are inherent in Christianity and not in Hinduism, and so at the point where they seem to come closest together, at that very point they diverge in opposite directions. (1)

world and engaged in discussions with various exponents of Hinduism and Jainism. From 1814 on, he devoted his whole time to the study of religion. He was so intent upon learning the merits of every creed that he learned the language in which each of these finds its expression. In order to know the Vedas, he acquainted himself with Sanskrit; to know the Koran required a knowledge of Arabic; and to have the thought of the Old and the New Testaments necessitated an understanding of Hebrew and Greek. The success of his efforts may be seen partly in the fact that he wrote a book entitled The Prospects of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and

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A. The Brahma Samaj.

The first of the movements was the Brahma Samaj, whose founder was Ram Mohan Ray. He was a Brahman, but had come under Mohammedan influence in his childhood -- an influence which he never entirely outgrew. When a lad of fifteen, he wrote his view of idolatry in pamphlet form, but as a result was forced to leave home because of the disagreement with his father on the question. He spent the nine or ten years in Government employ, during which time he continued his study of the religions of the world and engaged in discussions with various exponents of Hinduism and Jainism. From 1814 on, he devoted his whole time to the study of religion. He was so intent upon learning the merits of every creed that he learned the language in which each of these finds its expression. In order to know the Vedas, he acquainted himself with Sanskrit; to know the Koran required a knowledge of Arabic; and to have the thought of the Old and the New Testaments necessitated an understanding of Hebrew and Greek. The success of his efforts may be seen partly in the fact that he wrote a book entitled The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and

Happiness, which was decidedly appreciative of Christ's character and teaching, and which succeeded in converting one of the missionaries, a Mr. Adam, to the author's way of thinking. The majority of the missionaries, however, felt that he had confused the essentials so thoroughly that the result was pernicious and hence they felt they could no longer sanction his work so heartily as they had done prior to this time. He accordingly gave his thought more and more to the working out and propagating of his ideas.

He had established the Atmiya Sabha, or Friendly Association, in 1815. There were weekly meetings with the reading of texts from Hindu scriptures and the singing of hymns. Interest seemed to die out after four years, and it was after that time that he came in close contact with missionaries and began his intense study of the New Testament especially.

In 1828, the first meeting of the Brahma Samaj or Society of God was held. From the beginning it had the support of Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore, a wealthy Brahman. "The society met every Saturday evening from seven to

nine. The service was in four parts, the chanting of selections from the Upanishads in Sanskrit (this was done in a small room into which only Brahmans were admitted), the translation of these passages into Bengali, a sermon in Bengali, and the singing of theistic hymns in Sanskrit and Bengali composed by Ram Mohan and his friends. There was no organization, no membership, no creed. Ram Mohan believed he was restoring Hindu worship to its pristine purity." (1) It should be said, however, that the doctrine of transmigration was not a part of Ram Mohan's belief. Hence, his ideas were not those of Hinduism in its original state.

When a building was erected later for the meetings of the Society, the Trust Deed contained the following stipulations:

"To be used as a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly sober religious and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the Eternal Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe but not under or by any other name designation or title peculiarly used for and applied to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men whatsoever and that no graven image statue or sculpture carving painting pic-

----- Ibid. -----

1. Farquhar: Op. Cit., pp. 34,35.

gore became a portrait or the likeness of anything shall be admitted within the said building leader. . . . and that no sacrifice shall ever be permitted therein . . . and that in conducting the said worship and adoration no object animate or inanimate that has been late a deity is recognised as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled or drew up the slightly or contemptuously spoken of . . . and that no sermon prayer or hymn be one who be delivered in such worship but such as have a tendency to the promotion of the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the Universe to the strengthening the bonds of real love union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds." (1)

His definition of worship shows the deistic conception which he had. For him worship meant the contemplation of the attributes of the Supreme Being, and realise how essential it was for others to have the if this idea of the founder was shared by all the congregation then it is not to be greatly wondered at that after his death interest in the Samaj very nearly died out. To grow in grace demands active participation on the part of him who hopes to attain. Such a passive program would not in itself have accomplished anything, and the rendering of help to the famine-stricken was joined. This latter measure was suggested by Keshab. This latter measure was suggested by Keshab. Chandré Sen, who was destined to be successor to Tagore. salvation.

Keshab had studied much more about Christ than had After the death of the founder, Debendra Nath Tagore, and he enthusiastically urged the

1. Ibid.

gore became associated with the Samaj and became its leader. He felt that the urgent need at that time was for organization and so he set about it to formulate a definite policy for the group. Accordingly he drew up the Brahma Covenant, the vows of which everyone who became a member of the Samaj had to accept. Abstention from idolatry and the promising to show one's real love for God by doing the things which He loves were a part of Tagore's plan. Furthermore, prayer and devotional exercises were noteworthy additions. His own experience of a direct communion with God made him realize how essential it was for others to have the same. He had reached the conclusion that many of the Hindu ceremonies performed at such times as births and marriages were so idolatrous that they should no longer be used. Consequently he salvaged what ceremonies he could and eliminated the rest. Caste was also abolished, and the rendering of help to the famine-stricken was enjoined. This latter measure was suggested by Keshab Chandra Sen, who was destined to be successor to Tagore. Keshab had studied much more about Christ than had Debendra Nath Tagore, and he enthusiastically urged the

people to follow the teachings of Jesus. The desire on their part to lead holy lives and to save other souls is, in a sense, an indication of the dynamic quality of Christianity. It was recognized that to take this at all seriously meant the necessity of some of their number becoming missionaries. These ideals appealed to many and there was an increase in numbers in spite of the disagreements which arose between Debendra and Keshab. When the Samaj eventually broke up into two groups, the original Samaj became known as the Adi Brahma Samaj. The group led by Keshab adopted some of the symbolistic or outward forms which were in vogue. Instruments were used in singing and there was also dancing. Some annual festivals of two or three days each were inaugurated which seem to have been Keshab's purely religious, for the whole time is spent in prayer, worship and the hearing of addresses of a religious nature. ~~It was~~ ~~that idolatrous practices were performed at the~~

Keshab's visit to England in 1869 paved the way for even greater interest in reforms. Among the things accomplished were the abolition of child-marriage, recognition of the right of widows to re-marry and the making

the practise of polygamy penal. It was clear to him, too, that the women must be educated, and so schools for girls were opened up. In spite of all these things, he felt his influence waning. Just where the cause lay he could not tell, but it is probable that it was the beginning of the more active opposition to Western influence. Keshab had come in contact with Ramakrishna, a Hindu who said he believed that all religions were true, though he himself preferred to worship a Hindu idol. Keshab either was so greatly influenced that he instinctively took up whatever his friend believed, or else he consciously modified his practices in order to placate wounded Hindu pride. At any rate there was a decided swerving in the direction of Hinduism.

The incidents connected with the marriage of Keshab's daughter to a native prince further turned the educated men of the Samaj away from him, and when they were convinced that idolatrous practices were performed at the wedding which was itself illegal because of the Marriage Act passed at the earnest solicitation of the reformer himself, they withdrew their support and organized the Sadharan Brahma Samaj. This took place in 1878. It is

1. Farquhar: *Op. Cit.*, p. 38. quoted from The Religion of the Brahma Samaj by Wm. Chandra Barker, p. 40.

interesting to observe that the organization was effected in a way that was hoped would eliminate the single-man government, and indeed such has proved to be the case. The Samaj is controlled by a General Committee of a hundred members elected both from Calcutta and the provinces. It is furthermore a significant fact that the Sadharan Brahma Samaj is the only one of the three divisions that is showing any measure of vitality and growth today. One explanation might be found in the definition of worship expressed in the manual used today by the group under immediate discussion. 'Worship is the communion of the soul with God; on the part of man, it is the opening of his soul, the out-pouring of his aspirations, the acknowledgement of his failure and transgressions and the consecration of his life and work to God as his Lord, Refuge and Guide; and on the part of God, the communication of His light, strength, inspiration and blessing unto the longing soul.' (1) This was more than a mere passive contemplation of the attributes of the Divine, and hence had a greater appeal.

The fact that there was an attempt to get away from domination by one man is one indication of the influence

1. Farquhar: Op. Cit., p. 38. Quoted from The Religion of the Brahma Samaj by Hern Chandra Sarkar, p. 40.

of nationalism. If, politically, it is well for the group to have a larger opportunity of determining its own policies, religiously why should the same principle not hold? And yet, there is also shown the truth of the idea which is already taking hold of many who have made a careful study of Indian life and temper, namely that a system or an organization works more effectively when certain persons are officially held responsible for certain tasks, for the Brahma Samaj has been ineffective because of its lack of definitely appointed leaders. The intellectual standard for its members has perhaps been higher than that for the groups which shall be studied below, but the lack of leadership and organization has been a clearly recognized defect. Approximately 6000 adherents to the Brahma Samaj are numbered by the 1921 Census. The small number is due in part to the fact that those who become members break away from caste and consequently have to break the family ties. This sacrifice is too great for many to feel capable of undergoing. Another reason lies in the fact that its ideas have permeated Hindu society and has raised the social and spiritual levels in such a gradual and natural

1. The Indian Social Reformer, 37:275 Jan. 1. 1927.
Editorial on The Brahma Samaj.

B. The Arya Samaj.

way that many who would consider themselves orthodox Hindus have accepted these ideas without acknowledging any other allegiance. "Some of India's great rivers in their course part with the largest part of their water to irrigate large areas of land on either side and lose themselves before they reach the sea in a multitude of small streams spreading over a vast delta. Such has been the course of the Brahmo Samaj." (1) This religion and politics came close together in 1877, for the Arya Samaj was a movement designed to re-instate Hinduism as the religion of primary importance and believed by its progenitors to be the one most worthy of acceptance on the part of a people just awaking to a consciousness that they had inherent capabilities which might be developed to the point of freeing them from bondage to a foreign power.

This sect was founded by Pandit Dayananda Saraswati, a Gujarati Brahman born in 1824. When only fourteen years of age he had learned much of the Vedas and had revolted against idolatry. It is possible that he had come in contact with Jains who had given up such practices, but the incident which crystallized his ideas on

1. The Indian Social Reformer, 37:275, Jan. 1, 1927. Editorial on The Brahmo Samaj.

B. The Arya Samaj.

In aggressiveness and number of adherents, the Arya Samaj exceeds the Brahma Samaj, and from the standpoint of nationalism it bears much more directly upon the subject than did the center of attention in the preceding pages. In 1921, the Arya Samaj numbered 468,000, which represents a ninety two percent increase during the decade 1911-1921. The lines representing religion and politics come close together in 1877, for the Arya Samaj was a movement designed to re-instate Hinduism as the religion of primary importance and believed by its progenitors to be the one most worthy of acceptance on the part of a people just awaking to a consciousness that they had inherent capabilities which might be developed to the point of freeing them from bondage to a foreign power. This sect was founded by Pandit Dayananda Saraswati, a Gujerati Brahman born in 1824. When only fourteen years of age he had learned much of the Vedas and had revolted against idolatry. It is possible that he had come in contact with Jains who had given up such practices, but the incident which crystallized his ideas on

the subject seems to have been that which occurred during his observance of the Shivarati fast day. He was determined to keep the thirty six hour fast in the prescribed manner in order to gain all the merit that might thereby accrue to him in fullest measure. Accordingly he kept awake during the night when the rest of the assemblage, his father included, had gone to sleep. While he chanted the prayers and hymns, the peaceful and quiet atmosphere gave courage to a tiny mouse that had an appetite for the food offered to Shiva. Much to the boy's disgust, the image made no move to prohibit the liberties which the small marauder was taking. To his mind, here was no omnipotent God, but only an insensate block of wood, the tool of mice as well as men. He refused to be a party any longer to the sham, and awakened his father. The latter gave the age-old explanation to which idol-worshippers resort, but it was not sufficient to one of Dayanand's mind and spirit to be told that the image merely represented the god and that offerings to the former were pleasing to the latter. He refused to complete the fast and went home to eat and to sleep. That he had incurred his father's anger was natural,

1. Rai, Lalpat: The Arya Samaj, pp. 6-10.

but that he dared to follow quietly and patiently his own judgment (which seemed to result from the best thinking which he could bring to bear upon the matter) in the face of that anger and opposition was a proof of the rebellious nature which must characterize in some measure any one who ushers in movements of social reform. (1) From this time on, he devoted himself to a study of the Vedas and the doctrines which were set forth therein, one of his chief concerns being to obtain release from transmigration. Dayananda believed that the problem of securing an Indian religion for Indians and Indian sovereignty for Indians would be solved by a general movement back to the Vedas. It is a curious though not a new phenomenon in the world that whatever was distasteful to him in the Vedas he naively concluded must be false. In order to teach others the enlightenment which he had found, he established the Arya Samaj in Lahore in 1877. The official creed of the Samaj contains the following ideas in essence: there is only one God and to Him alone is worship due; the Vedas are the books of true knowledge; the primary object of the Samaj is to do good

1. Rai, Lajput: The Arya Samaj, pp. 6-10.

to the world by improving the physical, spiritual, and social condition of mankind; all ought to be treated with love, justice and due regard to merits; individuality must not interfere when the well-being of society as a whole is at stake. To retain the idea of the divine authority of the Vedas made this sect acceptable to the Hindus. They could accept its creed and still observe caste, though when one considers what equality of treatment on a basis of merits would mean if considered with all its implications, he wonders if they had any conception of the meaning of the words. In addition to the belief in transmigration and salvation by means of continued well-doing, impossibility of forgiveness, and condemnation of idolatry, there was the observance of the fire-sacrifice but with this connotation -- the necessity of purifying the air. From the standpoint of ethics, there was no sound basis for the Samaj. The individual was encouraged to kill those whom he regarded as monstrously evil, and marriage laws, if literally followed, were immoral. It is true that there was considerable emphasis laid upon education for both men and women, but in general it would be true to say that there

was more of talk than action. The movement back to the Vedas was considerably strengthened by the founding of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore in 1887, however, and this was a part of the larger movement to re-instate all things purely Indian. The College encouraged and enforced the study of Hindi literature, classical Sanskrit and the vedas, English literature and sciences. And in this last may be seen a tacit admission that all things Western could not be overlooked. who are quite outside the stream of world event It would seem that an organization based upon false interpretations of their sacred book, the transcendence of the old and worn-out, the practise of caste and belief in doctrines of transmigration and karma which are not consistent with monotheistic ideas of God would not be well enough founded to have any growth. Yet such is certainly not the case at present. Those who aspire to seeing what they may fondly call the golden age of India return (and this desire increases in proportion to the amount of freedom granted) naturally turn toward an organization which is distinctly aggressive against all movements of non-Indian origin, especially Christianity

and Islam, even at the sake of consistency and progress.

It is likely that for some time to come, the Arya Samaj

The idea of the equality of all religions will grow and have a large part in the life of Indian people. It has not escaped the snare of division in Hinduism. Its earliest most vigorous exponent, Ramanakrishna, an orthodox Brahman who had about with the increase of literacy a number of the ideas now interest in religious subjects at an early age but had had no education. He was of such a nature that changing thought-patterns must come an organization so ever he took up received the fullest measure of changed in creed and ideals and course of action that devotion of which he was capable. At one time it was only those who are quite outside the stream of world events and those who are willing to deceive themselves it even seemed to be Jesus; but at such times his will dare to say that such movements are endeavoring to re-instate Hinduism in all its original purity.

one is inclined to doubt the value of such an experience.

It was quite a common thing for him to go into a trance such as Hindus call samadhi. It is said that at one time he remained in a trance for six months and was kept alive through the kindly offices of a sadhu (religious ascetic). As far as the phase of his religious life which appealed most strongly to him is concerned, it was purely individualistic and as such could have little bearing upon the life of those about him to say nothing of the life and thought of the larger unit -- the country.

C. The Ramakrishna Mission

upon him by the ideas which possessed him. Among these was the realization that the caste must be done away. Having been a Hinduism. Its earliest most vigorous exponent was Ramakrishna, an orthodox Brahman who had shown intense interest in religious subjects at an early age but who had had no education. He was of such a nature that what-ever he took up received the fullest measure of fervent devotion of which he was capable. At one time it was the goddess Kali; at another it was Krishna; and once it even seemed to be Jesus; but at such times his emotions seemed to be quite divorced from his mind, and one is inclined to doubt the value of such an experience. It was quite a common thing for him to go into a trance such as Hindus call samadhi. It is said that at one time he remained in a trance for six months and was kept alive through the kindly offices of a sadhu (religious ascetic). As far as the phase of his religious life which appealed most strongly to him is concerned, it was purely individualistic and as such could have little bearing upon the life of those about him to say nothing of the life and thought of the larger unit -- the country.

of However he felt that certain demands were made upon him by the ideas which possessed him. Noteworthy among these was the realization that the division made by caste must be done away. Having been a Brahman, he had the usual prejudices and feelings which one of that caste has. In order to overcome them, he lived as a pariah, cleansing the temple and performing the most abasing offices in the attempt to conquer his feelings. For a time his food consisted of the refuse left on the leaf-plates used by the beggars who received food at the temple. Since he had fully accepted the principle that every human being is a manifestation of God, even the most unfortunate claimed his adoration. Again there is seen the absolute lack of any attempt to influence another to live a higher life. He could not help but be affected by the permeating ideals of Christianity though he never consciously studied them, but his decision was that every religion is true, and that "every man should follow his own religion." (1)

If it had not been for the influence which Ramakrishna had upon those who came to be his disciples and their subsequent part in the thinking of people interested in religion, it had hardly been to the point

1. Muller, Max: Ramakrishna, p. 177.

of this study to mention him here. Swami Vivekananda was the disciple whom Ramakrishna considered most promising. He was the representative of Hinduism at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893 and as such made quite an impression upon those assembled. It is possible that it had not occurred to many of those in attendance that India had advanced beyond the stage of barbarism and the surprise of seeing and hearing as cultured a gentleman as the Swami sent them to the opposite extreme of praise and even acceptance. Two American disciples joined him and one Englishwoman also, the latter being Miss Margaret Noble commonly known as Sister Nivedita and his most notable disciple. Several Vedanta societies were organized in this country but the reports about them were considerably magnified.

Upon his return to India he began to organize regular work, and it was then that the Ramakrishna Mission was begun. Some philanthropic work was done in the way of famine relief, but to mention some of the ideas incorporated in his message will enable one to realize more clearly to just what extent he did advocate the return to Hinduism. Since God is manifested in every human being, no one is capable of sin. Reformers are

Missionary Review of the World, 30:255, April 1907.
The Sentiment of Protestant Christianity in India by
Rev. J. P. Jones.

D. Conclusion.

therefore doing away with things which are all right. Western civilization is material and selfish and is therefore degrading to the Hindu. The Hindu must use Western methods to combat adequately the encroaching civilization of the West. The extent of the teaching of Ramakrishna as added to by Vivekananda cannot be fully estimated. In fact, it still continues today in the antagonism which India feels toward all foreign influences. "The wave of religious reaction in favor of Hindu conceptions and ancient rites is largely the result of a vigorous but not sane patriotism. Such wild orientalism should not be condemned nor discouraged, for it is the true expression of the awakened self-assertion and the dawning sense of liberty among the people. In the meanwhile, however, there is a quiet revolution, both religious and social, doing its blessed work in all sections of the community." (1) ~~entance, forgiveness, transformation of character are being more and more incorporated due to the acceptance of the righteousness of God, 3 - there must be a spiritual worship of God and hence the giving up of sacrifices, ceremonial bathing, pilgrimages and self-torture and spiritualizing those~~

~~-----sacrifices which are retained, 4 - doctrine~~
1. Missionary Review of the World, 30:258, April 1907,
Two Centuries of Protestant Christianity in India by
Rev. J.P.Jones.

D. Conclusion.

of the Person of Christ is adopted in modified form by some. In conclusion it might be well to incorporate the summary which Farquhar gives setting forth the influence of Christianity on the Reform movements, bearing in mind, however, the accompanying influence of the nationalistic spirit. The causes of the movements are the British Government, the introduction of English education and literature, the influence of Christianity, Oriental research, and also the introduction of European science and philosophy.

The following considerations show to what extent Christianity has been an important factor in moulding the life of these reform movements. 1 - All Samajes and other groups declare themselves monotheistic, 2 - polytheism, mythology, idolatry are excluded by the Samajes, 3 - almost unanimous acceptance of God as the Father of all men, 4 - ideas of repentance, forgiveness, transformation of character are being more and more incorporated due to the acceptance of the righteousness of God, 5 - there must be a spiritual worship of God and hence the giving up of sacrifices, ceremonial bathing, pilgrimage and self-torture and spiritualising those ceremonies and sacrifices which are retained, 6 - doctrine

of the Person of Christ is adopted in modified form by some, 7 - the doctrine of karma and transmigration has been found to be contrary to accepted Christian teaching and so there is a general move to expel that teaching from the various groups, 8 - there is a desire that their leaders shall be like the missionaries, 9 - there is social reform, and 10 - the methods of work are borrowed from Christian missions. (1)

As was said at the beginning of the chapter, the reform movements originated primarily because of the influence of Christianity. To many Indians the earlier movements savored too much of non-Indian life and thought. Accordingly stress was laid upon the necessity of a return to Hinduism. Hinduism, however, does not have in it the ideas which work toward the advancement of a people, and thus it has been forced to modify many of its tenets. But new wine cannot be contained in old skins and these modified ideas could find expression only in new organizations.

While modifications of Christian ideas are sometimes more dangerous than open opposition, nevertheless one must needs rejoice whenever and wherever an incentive is given towards a higher plane of living.

Nationalism is doubtless largely responsible for the insistence upon Indian modes of thought and expression of that thought which the reform movements have embodied to a large extent, but at the same time its very life depends upon Christianity which alone contains all the ideas essential to growth -- whether it be in the political, the social, the economic or the spiritual realm. This fact Indian leaders are coming more and more to recognize and what is now known to the few will in time be the common knowledge of the many.

Chapter V
The Church in Transition

A. The Church as it Was. (1770-1900)

The second chapter above briefly introduced the study of the Church in India as it had its beginnings under European influence. Indeed, it was little more than a transplanting of the Church in Europe to Indian soil, and it was not difficult to see that in the earliest stages the Church depended heavily upon the foreign soil surrounding it to give it the nourishment to which it was accustomed in its original environment.

Chapter V

Since the British Government is one of the chief factors through which the Church in India has been brought to the present to discuss the establishment of the Church of England in India, though the motives which actuated other European countries were very similar to those actuating the former.

From the early part of the seventeenth century, chaplains were sent with the English who went to India as servants of the East India Company. Until 1644 the chaplains served only those on board ship, but in the year indicated a resident chaplain was sent to Surat and others soon followed. Their primary purpose was to minister to the Company's servants, but it was not the intention that they should entirely ignore the in-

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1. Quoted by Whitehead: *Indian Problems in Religion, Education, Politics*, p. 92.
2. Whitehead: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 92-101.

habitants of the country. The Charter of 1698 contained a clause which stated that 'the Chaplains in the factories are to study the vernacular languages, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the same Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant religion.' (1)

A study of the various Charters and their effect upon the religious life of the country would not be out of place here, but suffice it to say that little encouragement was given the promotion of missionary work until the Charter of 1833. Any responsibility for giving Christian teaching to the "heathen" (as the inhabitants of the country are commonly designated in the annals) sat rather lightly upon the shoulders of the majority of the chaplains, though fortunately there were exceptions, and it was largely due to the good work of these latter and to that of some of the East India Company who were much in favor of the promotion of Christianity among the natives that the missionaries were able to accomplish as much as they did in the face of so much that was discouraging. (2)

Coming back to the nature of the Church, however,

1. Quoted by Whitehead: Indian Problems in Religion, Education, Politics, p. 92.

2. Whitehead: Op. Cit., pp. 92-101.

no matter how detailed might be the study of the Church in India during the seventeenth, eighteenth and much of the nineteenth centuries, it would still be evident that it was merely a replica of the one at home. In fact, it was distinctly an English church, though allowing and encouraging the Indians to become members of it. It is a true sentence which says, "There is no Indian Church in the earliest stages of a mission." (1) The emphasis is on the home church and its policy for the infant organization arising on the field. When one realizes the great contrast which existed between life as Englishmen had known it and life as they found it in India, the contrast of cultures, the cruelties and inhumanities committed in the name of religion, the provincialism that inevitably characterized everyone in those days, it is not hard to see why everything English should have been considered right and everything that was Indian was regarded as the work of the Devil and his associates. It did not occur to the English that any other way could be so acceptable as theirs. The theology of the day demanded a belief in Christ and worship of Him along very definitely prescribed lines, and any-
----- taken such deep root in the soil, that
1. Year Book of Missions in India, 1912, p. 216.

one not so believing was consigned to eternal damnation. Overwhelmed as the early missionaries were with the idea that at every moment many souls were passing out into utter darkness never to be reclaimed, they felt it imperative to reach as many persons as possible in the shortest possible time. Accordingly the general policy was to supply all workers, all equipment and hence all the money from the home base, thus insuring (so they thought) the fewest possible mistakes and the surest way to save the millions of India's "benighted" ones from destruction. As has been said this was the general policy, though it would be safe to say that all of those who are considered the great missionary leaders in India had a much truer conception of the real work to be done. Notice the words of Alexander Duff, the pioneer of education through the medium of English. "We must no longer continue to look for laborers among the British and other Christian Churches, but rather look to the churches established on the field. Numbers of converts is no reliable test for the effectiveness of a mission's life and work. Christianity can not be said to flourish in India unless it become naturalized, and have taken such deep root in the soil, that

Duff: Indian and Indian Missions, p. 320.

it can flourish and perpetuate itself, independent of foreign aid. That a mission has succeeded in working out for itself the means of self-support and self-propagation: -- This, this is the only valid test of real permanent success!" (1) These sound like utterances of the present day but they were voiced by Duff in 1840 -- almost a century ago. How slowly indeed does the world move. Truly

for thus had the 'It takes a soul' idiom. And the
To move a body; it takes a high-souled man,
the states To move the masses -- even to a cleaner style;
It takes the ideal to blow a hair's breadth off
an upright The dust of the actual.' locally to require for

sign It has been said that the church in India was a replica of the church at home. This meant that it carried with it the bad as well as the good, chief among the objectionable elements being denominationalism. The Church of England projected miniatures of itself, the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Baptists, the Methodists, the Disciples of Christ, each projected its respective self in miniature even in all its peculiarities. The creeds, the forms of worship all were there, confusing to many, yet submissively accepted by them as another one of the numerous inexplicable things coming

1. Duff: Indian and Indian Missions, p. 330.

1. I.R.M. 3:69-66, 1920, Church and Mission in India
by John McKenzie.

out of the West. Inexplicable yet evidently desirable, for was it not a part of the belief and practise of the over-Lords? Thus reasoned many an Indian in the early days, and undoubtedly he felt that enough of benefits had accrued to him to warrant his blind acceptance of a few more. inevitable resultant of the new ideas which

With reference to foreign leadership and funds, these too were taken as a matter of course for a time, for thus had the white man considered them. And indeed, the status -- economic, social, and intellectual as well as spiritual -- was such as practically to require foreign domination. It must be clearly understood that the organization in India during this period (approximately 1770-1900) was a mission, and not a church. The former engages in work on a scale that a Church could not attempt, its jurisdiction extending over educational, medical, industrial realms as well as over evangelistic and philanthropic, and reaching out to include non-Christians, whereas the primary function of the Church is to care for its members, helping them to attain spiritual manhood so that they may in turn influence the lives of non-Christians about them and bring them into personal contact with Jesus Christ. (1)

1. I.R.M. 9:69-80, 1920, Church and Mission in India by John McKenzie.

B. Mass Movements.

Returning, as one must, to the current issues of political life chief among which is nationalism (its development having already been traced), it now becomes necessary to show the changing policy of the mission together with the rise of the Indian Church which is a natural and inevitable resultant of the new ideas which have taken possession of the world in recent years -- ideas that had their inception in the increasing recognition of the value of the individual. And this, in turn, finds its origin in the teachings of Jesus Christ. a strong appeal to those whose social and economic status was practically nil. To accept Christian principles meant the raising of his status because of the worth which each felt to be in himself. Embryonic though it might be, it was there and could be developed. The accomplishment of such a process of development has ever been one of the major aims of Christianity. The great mass movements which have been important factors in determining the policy of the Church and also of the nation did not come until the latter half of the nineteenth century, correlating very closely with the rise of a nationalistic spirit.

B. Mass Movements.

low- From almost the first introduction of Christianity into India there have been mass movements, though those of Francis Xavier's day were certainly not of equal importance to those of today. Nevertheless Christian messengers would not be true to the fundamental principles of their faith if they did not believe that one individual is equal to another in the sight of God, and act accordingly. The fact that Christianity offered so much to those of low caste or of no caste at all made a strong appeal to those whose social and economic status was practically nil. To accept Christian principles meant the raising of this status because of the worth which each felt to be in himself. Embryonic though it might be, it was there and could be developed. The accomplishment of such a process of development has ever been one of the major aims of Christianity. The great mass movements which have been important factors in determining the policy of the Church and also of the nation did not come until the latter half of the nineteenth century, correlating very closely with the rise of a nationalistic spirit. very low caste. . . The rea-

Because of the organization of Indian society, the low-caste groups were the only ones really accessible to missionaries. One cannot with fairness lay the fault of following lines of least resistance at the missionary's door. It is true that a readier response came from low-caste groups, but attempts were made to reach the high-caste as well. At least the method which circumstances forced the missionaries to use has since been seen to have much in its favor. Nobili and Duff argued that Christianity would take possession of India most rapidly if accepted by the high-caste first and their example followed by those who were of lower birth. The work which these two did among the ones who should naturally be India's leaders was not fruitless, but has not been attended by the visible results that have come from the work among the low-caste. Indeed, the following words of Nehemiah Goreh, himself a Brahman of the Brahmins and later one of the outstanding converts to Christianity, would voice the opinion of many. "All these great movements, whether here (Ahmednagar, an S.P.G. Mission) or in Tinnevely, or elsewhere, are taking place among men of very low caste. . . . The rea-

1. Gardner: Life of Father Goreh, pp. 137-5. Letter written by Father Goreh to Rev. W. P. Churton on Nov. 9, 1878.

son of it is this: high-caste men go to English schools and receive education in English, science, and literature. And so they begin to perceive the absurdities at once of the old Hindu beliefs. But when they come to see that their own old religion is false, they at once conclude that all religions, and therefore Christianity also, are false too. . . . But these men seem to have hardened their hearts against the call of God, and it seems as if God would leave them, for the present, in the hardness of their hearts, and as if He wishes to call these low-caste and out-caste men to enjoy the blessings of His kingdom. So it seems to me that the great movement in the evangelization of India will take place among the people of low-caste, and they will be the first raised. Then the high-caste men will begin to see their own folly and follow them." (1)

In commenting upon this letter, Mr. Gardner says, "The conversion of some such men as Father Goreh, himself of high caste and powerful intellect, must cause us unbounded thankfulness. But the conversion of those who have no caste privileges is very much more to be desired than the conversion of great numbers of high-

1. Gardner: Life of Father Goreh, pp. 237-8. Letter written by Father Goreh to Rev. W.R. Churton on Nov. 9, 1878.

class Brahmans No one can accept Christianity upon the authority of worldly pre-eminence. . . . If the Brahmans, as a body, were to become Christians, they would not convert the low-caste population. Religion would remain a matter of high-caste and social superiority. . . . If the despised classes of India become Christians, they will be raised in the scale of human life. Christianity cannot fail of spreading upwards. As the poor and despised rise by the inherent power of Christianity, exhibiting the glory of the new birth in Christ, they become evidences of the Divine life of the Christian Church. Thus the low-caste will convert the educated." (1) 590; in 1901, 2,664,000; in 1911,

3,374. Another reason for the mass movements lies in the large amount of famine relief work which was done by all missions, and especially those located in the famine-stricken areas. The famines of 1878, 1896, and 1899 were followed by years of prodigious growth in the missions of Tinnevely, the Telugu area and the Panjab. A brief survey of the composition of the Indian Church in 1912 shows to what extent these mass movements have affected the life of the Church. Ninety percent of the

1. Gardner: Op. Cit., pp. 239-240. 12. pp. 203-9.
2. East and West, 1918. 10:329-337. The Indian Religious Census by Charles H. Robinson.

Christian community have come from the depressed classes, four-fifths of the remaining ten percent are Sudras (a respectable caste, but not much above the out-caste in either education or religion), one-fifth of the ten percent are from Moslem faith and originally these were largely from the Hindu Community. "Probably not more than one in a thousand comes from the Brahman caste." (1)

The study made of the 1911 census by Charles H. Robinson as it bears upon the large accretions to the Christian community will help to clarify the situation here. In 1891 the total number of Christians of Indian nationality was 2,036,590; in 1901, 2,664,000; in 1911, 3,574,770. In the Panjab alone there was an increase of 333%. Statistics for two denominations which were in the heart of the mass movement areas will give further enlightenment. The Presbyterians whose work is largely in the Panjab, increased from 42,000 to 164,000 during the twenty years, and the Methodists, located in the Central Provinces and in the southern part of India, increased from 68,000 to 162,000. (2)

Even the most casual observer will realize that

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1. Year Book of Missions in India, 1912, pp. 203-9.
 2. East and West, 1912, 10:329-337. The Indian Religious Census by Charles H. Robinson.

such enormous increases in so short a time would constitute a very grave problem to the mission though it would also furnish ample cause for rejoicing. A church endangers its existence when it takes in more converts than it can assimilate. Otherwise, the non-Christian element will mould the life of the Church. Nor can a church afford to have an illiterate membership. "The census of 1911 showed that eighty five percent of the Indian Christian Community were unable to read and the proportion of illiteracy in mass movement areas is higher still." (1) Thus there arose a very urgent need for enlarging the program of the Church to care for the thousands who wished to enter its doors. In most cases a certain amount of instruction was required before they were permitted to appear for baptism, which more than any other act indicates to the community the actual break from a religion other than the Christian. (2) It was impossible for the mission to secure enough teachers, and also enough money adequately to care for the numbers that came. It therefore became a very real challenge to the Indian Christians themselves to give largely of their time and of their means -- little though that

1. I.R.M., 9:21, 1920. Survey of 1919. pressed
2. East and West, 13:33-40, 1915, The Mass Movement in the Panjab by H.D. Griswold.

3. I.P.V., 5:35-37, 1917. Survey of 1916.

might be. Furthermore it meant that they had to use what they themselves had learned -- perhaps only a very short time before -- in order that they might pass it on to others who had had even less opportunity than they. G. Hibbert Ware, writing for East and West, gives a case in point from his knowledge of the Telugus. This will be dealt with below in the discussion of the indigenous church.

Thus it becomes clear that the mass movements had a large part in forcing the issue of an indigenous church upon the mission. Not only that, but the masses became a factor which the various reform movements and the nationalistic leaders no longer dared to ignore. In order to gain enough backing to convince the Government that self-government was feasible, it became essential to secure the cooperation of ninety percent of the population which the depressed classes represent. Consequently in recent years, Gandhi instituted a campaign to gain the interest and help of the villagers with the result that here and there are groups, such as the Chamars (1), the Bhangis caste (2), the sweeper and weaver castes (3) that are taking active interest in affairs

1. East and West, 20:204, 1922. The Depressed Classes in India by A. Crosthwaite.

2. I.R.M., 8:193, 1919. Mass Movements.

3. I.R.M., 6:25-37, 1917. Survey of 1916.

C. The Indigenous Church.

of state, some having even been appointed to seats in the Popular Assembly. (1) Necessity.

It is quite possible that many of the depressed classes turned to Christianity as a means to the end of higher social and economic standing having seen others from the same low level reach a higher living standard after having become Christians. Be that as it may, with the gradual permeation of life by Christian ideals and with the onrush of ideas of self-government and self-determination, it was inevitable that the masses should begin to awaken and prod the mission out of its lethargy and into a realization that the child which it had been fostering had nearly attained to man's estate -- that the issue of an indigenous church could no longer be evaded. , who, himself a Westerner, represented a Western church and proclaimed (as many thought) a Western Christ. They, too, wished to share in the responsibilities of life, and justly felt that if they were eligible of holding government offices, they should also be eligible of holding offices in the Church.

The Reform Bill which was passed in 1913, while recognizing that the Indians were entitled to a school

1. East and West, 13:41-48, 1915. Strategic Value of Mass Movements, by Charles Hope Gill.

C. The Indigenous Church.

C. -1- An Indian Church a Necessity.

In an earlier chapter it was noted that the nationalistic spirit received a great impetus from the World War. It had developed to the point where such an event crystallized the tendencies which had been growing, and there was an insistent demand on the part of Indians for self-government and for the opportunity to determine for themselves the policies which should govern their national life. When Indians at large saw those of their own number gradually coming into positions of authority as far as the government was concerned it was inevitable that those who had the interests of the Church most at heart would become restive under the domination of the missionary, who, himself a Westerner, represented a Western church and proclaimed (as many thought) a Western Christ. They, too, wished to share in the responsibilities of life, and justly felt that if they were capable of holding government offices, they should also be capable of holding offices in the Church.

The Reform Bill which was passed in 1919, while recognizing that the Indians were entitled to a consid-

1. M.P.W., 35:365, 1922. Politics and Missions in India Today, by Robert V. Spear.

2. M.P.W., 17:430-3, 1904. The Missionary Spirit in the Native Church by Elwood Sady.

erable measure of independence and responsibility in the conduct of their own affairs, suggests that before responsibility is placed upon any one, he must have shown himself fit to govern himself as well as others. This of course requires character-development which is largely the work of the Church. A true nationalism can come only when the majority of the people have recognized that in order to control the property or the affairs of himself or of others he must first have a character foundation which comes only through a slow process of growth. (1)

It should be acknowledged here that there certainly could have been no mission board at work in India that did not recognize by 1900 at the latest that "the missionary ideal is to establish a self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating Church." (2) This was their intention, but like many another doting parent they feared to let the child walk alone lest he fall and injure himself. However, the ideals for which the Church stands are so high and sacred that one can sympathize very deeply with the hopes and fears of the missionaries' hearts, and can realize, too, with them that all

1. M.R.W., 35:365, 1922. Politics and Missions in India Today, by Robert E. Speer.

2. M.R.W., 17:430-3, 1904. The Missionary Spirit in the Native Church by Sherwood Eddy.

of growth -- whether physical, mental or spiritual -- takes place slowly. A study of the work of the various missions calls forth deep admiration for the fine spirit which has prevailed on the part of both Indians and missionaries as they have worked out together (in an increasing number of instances) the plans and policies for the Church. for financial support upon the Mission. This fact, together with the great contrast between the standard of living for the Westerner and that for the Indian, gave rise to the idea in the mind of many an Indian that to gain a position of influence in the Church meant control of the large amounts of money used by the Mission and also the same standard of living as the Westerner had. Now no one impelled by Christian ideals would deny that it was essential that the standard of living be raised, but to have that as the apparent aim instead of one nearer to a higher end simply afforded a reason for the mission to believe that the Indian was not yet ready to take over the offices which he so much desired. It is possible that too much stress was laid upon a few cases, but on the other hand it must be borne in mind that the mission was in charge of funds

C.-2- Self-Support in the Indian Church.

The problems connected with the establishing of an indigenous church are well known to those who have followed the matter at all. One of the major problems has to do with the financial support of the Church. It is a fact that for many years the Church's existence depended quite heavily for financial support upon the Mission. This fact, together with the great contrast between the standard of living for the Westerner and that for the Indian, gave rise to the idea in the mind of many an Indian that to gain a position of influence in the Church meant control of the large amounts of money used by the Mission and also the same standard of living as the Westerner had. Now no one impelled by Christian ideals would deny that it was essential that the standard of living be raised, but to have that as the apparent aim instead of one means to a higher end simply afforded a reason for the mission to believe that the Indian was not yet ready to take over the offices which he so much desired. It is possible that too much stress was laid upon a few cases, but on the other hand it must be borne in mind that the mission was in charge of funds

1. East and West. 19:36, 1920. Mass Movements in India
by A.B. WYNNE.

and property which the Church at the home base had entrusted to it. It might be pertinent to add that the Indian Church had perhaps seen the material side stressed so much that its members almost unconsciously imitated what they felt loomed largest on the missionary's horizon.

Bearing in mind this very real problem to the Mission and to the Church, it is heartening to read reports of the way in which the difficulty is being met by various groups. The policy in the Telugu country as reported by G. Hibbert-Ware is for the native Church to provide its own money. In some places before a candidate for baptism will be accepted he is expected to bring, among other things, an offering every Sunday either in cash or in "kind" and is to share in paying a proportion of the pastor's pay. (1)

The example of the Karen Christians in Burma might also be cited, the work in Burma being essentially a part of that of India. The Karens themselves have provided the bungalows, fine school houses, and a memorial church which grace the mission compound. A large theological seminary here is also supported by a personal

1. East and West, 18:36, 1920. Mass Movements in India by A.B. Mynors. Christian Council Review, 44:126-127, March 1924. The American Madura Mission.

tax which the people levied upon themselves. (1) The American Madura Mission reports the case of the village congregation of Sattankudi. The cost of the church building was Rs 4,500, two thousand of which the congregation itself paid, five hundred came from Hindu friends and two thousand through missionaries. (2)

These are only a very few instances out of many which might be cited, but they will suffice to show that the Church is becoming self-supporting -- in fact, has practically become so in many places -- and will give an indication of what the future has in store for the Church in India.

As soon as the national consciousness in a Christian Church or community has reached the stage when its national leaders feel themselves hampered and thwarted in their witness and service by the presence of the foreign missionary and of the system for which he stands, that Church or community has reached the limits of healthy development under the existing conditions.' (1)

Some societies have adopted the policy of withdrawing the work of the mission as soon as a Church is well-organized. They then exclude Indians entirely from the

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1. The Year Book of Missions in India, 1912, p. 214.
 2. National Christian Council Review, 44:116-117, March 1924, The American Madura Mission.

C. -3- Self-Government in the Indian Church.

The problem of self-government or self-direction is quite as important as, if not more so than, that which was just discussed, for it is here that the majority of the Indian Christian community is most vitally interested. There has been no question as to the eventual advisability of the step of turning over the administration of the Church to the native constituency, but the uncertainty has lain in the proper time to do it. At an informal conference held in Allahabad in 1919 in which both missionaries and Indian Christians participated, the following principle was set forth: 'As soon as the national consciousness in a Christian Church or community has reached the stage when its natural leaders feel themselves hampered and thwarted in their witness and service by the presence of the foreign missionary and of the system for which he stands, that Church or community has reached the limits of healthy development under the existing conditions.' (1)

Some societies have adopted the policy of withdrawing the work of the mission as soon as a Church is well-organized. They then exclude Indians entirely from the

1. Quoted in I.R.M., 9:31, 1920. Reaction of the Church to the Nationalist Spirit.

mission staff, believing that to do otherwise would hinder the development of a strong, independent, Indian Church. This policy is attended by various difficulties among which is the need that the mission has of Indian agents, and since it naturally would require the best trained, the Church suffers thereby in not having the very best in its leadership. Another difficulty would be the tendency of the mission to dominate, and that would not be conducive to harmonious relationships. The argument that if equality of position is accorded Indian and European, the Indian, being a paid agent, is considered by non-Christians to be the agent of a body animated by unnational ideals is hardly a valid objection. (1)

The example of the Madura Mission will give an ideal of one plan that is in operation. In passing, it might be said that the Madura Mission is one of the first that began to grant a larger participation in church direction to the Indians. The Madura Church Council was organized in 1917 for the purpose of meeting the desire of Indian Christians to assume responsibility in native church government. "It is composed

1. I.R.M., 9:75, 1920. Church and Mission in India by John McKenzie.

2. I.R.M., 5:38, 1916. Burden of British India and
1921-1922

of all ordained men, both Indian and foreign, each having one vote. Thus the native Christian has about six times the missionary representation." Fifteen to twenty years has been given for complete withdrawal of missionary leadership. (1)

Various plans have been outlined in an attempt to find some feasible modus operandi. Some of them have a distinctly denominational flavor, such as that suggested by the Bishop of Madras. The first step which he advocates would be the securing of an Episcopate and ministry which the churches would regard as valid, though in the previous breath he had asserted that "larger freedom must be accorded both in organization and doctrine." (2) Some legal difficulties were encountered when the proposal to establish self-governing synods was presented to the Anglicans, with the result that diocesan and provincial councils were formed which did not have the coercive authority that the Synods would have had. (3)

J.C. Winslow of Junnar in the Poona District has described his vision of the Indian Church -- such a vision as many a loyal son of Indian has for the Church that is to be. "I seem to see the Indian Church modelled,

1. M.R.W., 33:1113, 1920.

2. Quoted in East and West, 13:199-200, 1915. Christianity in India after the War by H.P.K. Skipton.

3. I.R.M., 5:38, 1916. Survey of British India and Ceylon.

as regards its organization, on the lines of the ancient village community. In every village the natural leader of the community, without relinquishing his own profession, acts as elder or minister to the congregation, commissioned to dispense to them the Sacraments. In all matters that concern the welfare and upbuilding of the local Church he acts in consultation with his panchayat, which has the confidence of the people. Over a wider area a similar system of church government prevails. There is at the head a Bishop or Overseer, not an autocrat in consultation with a representative assembly elected by the village communities. It is not unlike a Presbyterian system, crowned by a constitutional Episcopate. India because it was presented to her. "In ways of dressing, manners of life, methods of education (no American desks, constant contact with a loved and revered guru, learning from their own literature as well as from the English), in the celebration of festivals, -- in all these things truly Indian. There would not be an encouragement of the celebration of those things which are non-Christian, but there could be a Christianizing of non-Christian celebrations.

1. I.R.M., Oct 28-9, 1920. A Vision of the Indian Church by J.C. Winslow.

"I see the churches, at least in Hindu India, shaped like temples only with a larger shrine. The outer court is used for kirtans, for public preachings, and for all large gatherings. The inner sanctuary serves for the regular assemblies of the faithful. On the walls are sculptures or frescoes by Indian artists." Isaiah, Gautama Buddha, Sita, Ruth, a figure of Christ instead of Ganesh or Hanuman, a priest to present the worshippers before God, the use of incense, drums, cymbals. (1)

The following comment of an Indian, O.S. Chowdhury on this point of Indian interpretation gives a very sane word of caution: "It has been urged that Christianity has failed in India because it was presented to her people in a foreign religious garb; and to rectify the past defect, attempts are being made to introduce regular Hindu rites and forms in the Christian worship. Experiments are being made by hanging the picture of Christ and burning incense accompanied by the sounds of cymbal and drums. The minister chants mantras as a Hindu priest. This is, I think, a confession that Christ in His natural beauty is unable to appeal to the Indian

1. I.R.M., 9:248-9, 1920. A Vision of the Indian Church by J.C. Winslow.

hearts. And to help Him succeed we are devising means which are fraught with far-reaching evil effects. The past religious history of India shows that in course of time the guru will take the place of Christ and will be the real object of adoration, and the incense and the cymbal will form the principal part of the worship. Thus everything will ultimately degrade into pure idolatry. Hinduism is too virile and comprehensive; it can conveniently adapt itself to everything. Therefore in the Indianization of Christianity we must proceed very judiciously and cautiously." (1)

And this comment from still another national: "It is not possible to nationalize the Church by drawing up schemes to introduce Indian music, Indian architecture and so forth, though these will be of great help if recognized as of secondary importance. When Indian leadership is sufficiently encouraged, and those who are administering the Church feel that they are not a colony of foreigners, then the system will gradually become Indian. . . . When Indians begin to realize that the Church is theirs and that the work of evangelization of India is their own responsibility, then we may hope

1. National Christian Council Rev., 45:101-4. Indian Interpretation of Christianity by O.S. Chowdhury.

2. I.R.N., Vishnu Sahay, 1920. Church and Mission in India.

to see the full fruition of the labors of the great saints of the past." (1)

As has been implied, various churches are trying some of the above ideas, and doubtless finding them effective in varying degrees. It is as yet practically an unknown, and will have to be solved gradually in view of the fact that other methods have long been in use and human nature whether it be in India or in America, whether it be in missionary or in layman, is addicted to ruts. If new areas could be found in which to try the above ideas in their entirety, it would be easier to see how effective they are. In any case, a transfer of responsibility, in order to insure success, should consider the following items: 1 - Indian counsel should be taken with regard to mode of transfer, 2 - Education is not necessarily a prerequisite for wisdom, i.e. a panchayat might be made up of illiterate men, but not ignorant ones, 3 - The area should be large enough to remove immediate likelihood of petty jealousies and to secure men of best ability, 4 - The help of the foreign missionary cannot be withdrawn at once. (2) In addition to these, one feels constrained

1. I.R.M., 13:65, 1924. The Indian Christian Church and the Spirit of Nationalism by A.C.Cumaraswamy.

2. I.R.M., 9:552-569, 1920. Church and Mission in India.

to mention that it is absolutely imperative that a very great measure of love and faith and confidence be mutually felt. Lacking these, no plan for the transfer of responsibility will succeed, for the real measure of success is in the effectiveness with which the Church is able to make Jesus Christ known to all men, and the first essential in making Christ known is the spirit of Love. The following statement issued by the Malabar Suffragan to the other members of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church suggests another aspect of self-government which is receiving wide attention today: "We also believe that the awakening of a new national consciousness in India, and the entry upon a new era of responsible government, makes it imperative that the Church also, instead of wasting its strength in internal strife, should face the new conditions and work for unity in order to meet the overwhelming demand of the hours." (1)

It will be of interest to consider at this point a brief review of the movements in India toward Church Union. "Close association of missionaries at Kodaikanal brought about the South India Missionary Association,

1. I.R.M., 9:147, 1920. Church Union Movements in India by Rev. Lewis R. Soudier.

and various other union movements. After a conference held at Madras in 1898, the missionaries of the Arcot Mission of the Reformed Church and the Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland set forth a plan for the organic union of the churches under these two missions, and using the name "South India United Church". In 1901 the union was made, with the indigenous and wholly independent South India United Church resulting. Overtures were next made to the Congregationalists of the London Mission and to the American Madura and Ceylon Missions, who, however, preferred to form a Congregational Union first. This was done in 1905 and then negotiations were begun between these two union groups. In 1908 the S.I.U.C. united with the Presbyterians. In 1913 and in 1919 the Church of Scotland and those founded by the Basel Mission joined. Later developments are the proposed union with the Anglican Churches and also with the Syrian Church. (1)

One admires the forward-looking policy of some societies and churches which have ecclesiastically released their Indian Churches so that the latter could make alliances and enter into union with kindred churches which

1. M.R.W., 35:301, 1922. Church Union Movements in India by Rev. Lewis R. Scudder.

might be located near them. (1) The question of ecclesiastical self-direction involves some concern as to matters of doctrine, but it is hoped that the fine example set by the churches in South India for working together harmoniously will enable other groups to think out together a way by which Christians everywhere may unite on the larger basis of love and loyalty to Jesus Christ. The National Christian Council which has been very effective in bringing together various groups for the purpose of discussing the great topics which were of common interest and which has come into being very largely because of the nationalistic spirit, will be taken up more in detail below, since it had its beginning as the National Missionary Society and was thus a partial expression of the desire of the Indian Church to be self-propagating. The Indian Church has realized that she too could profitably accept her portion of the heritage of culture which has come down through the centuries.

Some of the difficulties which have attended the attempt to instill the idea of self-propagation are:

- 1. Year Book of Missions in India 1912, pp. 218-219.

C.-4- Self-Propagation in the Indian Church.

2 - While the questions of self-support and self-government are ever-present with the Church, the one upon which the life of the Church depends is that of self-propagation. And it is here that the Indian Church has shown its excellent qualities and has justified the leaders in the Christian enterprise in believing that it is capable of an increasing measure of responsibility. In the methods of evangelism which the Indians, and to some extent the missionaries also, are using, the emphasis upon things and ways Indian shows the effect of nationalism. Some of these were mentioned above in the discussion of the policy of self-government in the Church. It is only with the increasing agitation on the part of reform movements (notably the Arya Samaj) and of political leaders for the return to Hinduism and the rejection of Western ideas that the Indian Church has realized that she too could profitably employ her portion of the heritage of culture which has come down through the centuries. Three-fourths of the converts now are Some of the difficulties which have attended the attempt to instill the idea of self-propagation are

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1. Year Book of Missions in India 1912, p. 224.
 2. I Cor. v:16.

these: 1 - Hinduism is not a missionary religion, 2 - The low-caste people have not been accustomed to the idea of being leaders, 3 - Indians are accustomed to placing the emphasis upon passive elements of character. (1) However the missionary idea has taken hold and will never be released, for if it does the Church will die, and the Indians must be well aware of the fact. Of course, it is not to be supposed that the missionary ideal is kept in the fore-ground merely to preserve the Church. The Great Commission is just as sacred and vital to the Indian as to the European or to the American, and impelled by that and by the realization of what Jesus Christ has meant in their own lives they could well say with the Apostle Paul, "Woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel." (2)

To what extent the missionary idea has taken hold of the Indian Church may be seen in the following statement: "It is a significant and a most encouraging fact that more than one-half, some missionaries say more than two-thirds, others, three-fourths of the converts now won for Christ through the Indian Church are won by the people themselves apart from any activity and persuasion

1. Year Book of Missions in India 1912, p. 224.

2. I Cor. 9:16. 16-520, 1908.

The National Missionary Society of India by Xddy.

of the missionary or of the Indian force of mission workers." (1)

Not only has the Indian constituency done excellent work locally, but it has organized itself for reaching out into other areas that were as yet untouched. The organization which was formed for this purpose was The National Missionary Society of India. Delegates representing every portion of India, Burma and Ceylon met in Serampore on December 25, 1905 to organize the National Missionary Society of India. This is an organization made up of Indian Christians with the expressed purpose of sending missionaries to the unevangelized districts of India. It is undenominational and expects to receive its support from individual Christians, and from the larger self-supporting churches, and from a few poor churches who can contribute but a little to the support of the work. It is to be directed by Indian Christians, the funds are to be sought for only in India itself; but there is an advisory committee made up of missionaries who desire to lend their sympathy and time to the movement. (2)

The enthusiastic reception which this enterprise

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1. Year Book of Missions in India 1912, p. 224.
 2. M.R.W., 19:516-520, 1906. The National Missionary Society of India by Eddy.

3. M.R.W., 32:706, 1919.

4. East Asia Year, 19:245-252, 1921

received is reported in a brief item in the Missionary Review of the World for 1907 to the effect that over sixty young men had offered themselves for service in evangelistic work. It was further stated that the executive committee of the Society had decided to begin work in the Panjab since it was a needy province and had given some financial support to the Society. (1) The Society now has work in some six or seven fields in which it supports a total of approximately 9 stations, 6 missionaries, 20 helpers, 10 schools, and serving a Christian community of at least 7000. (2) All but one of these have ordained Indian missionaries. There is one medical missionary. The income of the Society in 1918 was the largest ever received, amounting to 25,450 rupees or approximately \$8,000. (3) It might also be said that mission work is being done by the Indians among their own countrymen in Natal in South Africa. (4) One of the most significant events of 1922 was the action taken at Poona in January 1922 when a constitution was drafted for a National Christian Council to take the place of the existing National Missionary Council which had been working for ten years. It was pro-

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1. M.R.W., 20:146. National Missionary Society.
 2. Nat'l. Christian Council, 44:437. National Missionary Society of India.
 3. M.R.W., 32:706, 1919.
 4. East and West, 19:245-252, 1921.

posed that one-half of the membership be Indian, and that a small central group of officers, some of whom should be Indian, be appointed to serve the churches and missions in questions calling for common thought and action. (1) Helpful work has been done along the following lines: "rural education, higher education, theological education in the higher grades, promotion of publication of literature, discussion of public questions, such as the opium question, encouragement of larger participation by Indians in these various things." (2) These subjects very closely parallel those which are "transferred" by the Government to Indian jurisdiction, and the bearing of Nationalism upon the Church in its program of self-propagation is undeniably clear. Jesus Christ and The effect of the nationalistic spirit is further displayed in the methods of evangelism which are made use of -- some in one place, some in another. Preaching in the streets, the bazaars, and the melas or fairs is a distinctly Indian way of attracting the attention of the passing throng. Missionaries have taken over this practice and have done so from the earliest times, so this has only an incidental place here, showing rather

- 1. I.R.M., 12:209-222, 1923. Survey for 1922.
2. I.R.M., 13:65, 84-89, 410, 1924. National Christian Council of India by William Paton.

the good judgment of missionaries in making use of ways to which the Indians are accustomed than showing the influence of Nationalism. The itinerant evangelist borders quite closely upon the wandering sadhu and the religious mendicant -- characters dear to the heart of the Indian. The opposite of this method appeals to many, namely establishing an asram and waiting for people to come to one for instruction and guidance.

Chris The life and work of Sadhu Sundar Singh is a decided recommendation for that method. Wherever he goes, his teaching and preaching are attended by the beginning of transformed lives. Though he wears the garb of the Hindu sadhu, his is distinctly a Christian message and he speaks in no uncertain terms of the glory of Jesus Christ and of the satisfaction which comes in living a Christ-filled life. (1) Sometimes it seems as if he goes to rather great extremes of mysticism, but there are few Christians throughout the world that have influenced so many to lead a Christian life. Perhaps only a very small part of his influence is due to the Indian interpretation which he gives to Christianity, and yet one's own experience teaches him that people accept that which

1. Streeter: The Sadhu, A Study in Mysticism and Practical Religion. E. Stokes.

is at least semi-familiar much more readily than they do that which is foreign. The case of Samuel E. Stokes is worthy of comment here. He felt that he would better present Christ to the people if he lived among them as a friar. He was able to become more nearly a part of the people than he had before that time been able to do, and because of this was able to help them. He did not speak of Christ first to anyone, but let them question if they desired, or if a natural opportunity afforded itself, and usually it did. He did not at first seek the people out, but when they had tested him with all kinds of abuse and ill-treatment and had found that he was kind and gentle withal, they began to treat him with the respect which the Indian invariably shows the bhagat (a person who devotes his life to religious exercises). He was thus allowed to give medicine to sufferers from the plague, and to help others who were ill. The Indians, like people of every land, are very apt to entertain prejudices against people of another land. In living as he did, their ideas of what it is proper for a man of God to do were not violated in any way. (1)

1. M.R.W., 21:690-4, 1908. Interpreting Christ to India by Samuel E. Stokes. His Work in India.

The work of Christians of literary ability should be and is being to some extent used in the services of the Church. Narayan Vaman Tilak, a famous Christian poet, besides having made a distinct contribution in the way of poems and songs, has taken active part in the Indian Church. Indeed, he resigned a "salary from the mission or from any other human agency in order to be the leader of Indian people as he felt called to be." (1) The Gitanjali of Rabindranath Tagore is a poem which contains ideas, several of which parallel very closely passages from the Bible. It seems inevitable that as the Church becomes increasingly Indianized the poems of India's greatest writers shall be chanted as a part of the ritual. (2)

Yet another method merits attention, and that is lyrical evangelism, for the promotion of which the Telugu Summer School for Lyrical Evangelism was founded. The Rev. H.A. Popley of the L.M.S. has done notable work in lyrical evangelism, having arranged many religious musical programmes called Kalakshepams, which have proved most acceptable to Indian audiences. "The aim of the Telugu Lyrical School is to equip Telugu Christians with

1. Winslow: Narayan Vaman Tilak, p. 121.
2. I.R.M., 3:149-156, 1914. The Renaissance in India.
3. Op. Cit., 45:132-6. The Place of Christian Institutions in the Life of the Church by Miss K. Sircar.

D. Conclusion.

the art and science of Telugu music. In detail this aim involves the training of performers for Kalakshepams, of leaders for congregational singing, and of teachers of Indian music for Christian institutions of learning." (1) In line with this same sort of work is the making use of instruments which Indians have long been accustomed to play, such as the cymbal, the drums, and the sitar. Various Christian institutions in India are giving to their students the knowledge of a more effective use of these and other instruments in their Christian service. ~~It must be realized that Nationalism is~~ Undoubtedly these methods do have a wide appeal and should be made use of as far as possible, but these alone cannot suffice. "The heritage of a Christian is a much bigger possession than that of a European, American or Indian, for by virtue of being a Christian he may lay claim to the best that each has to offer in the way of Christian experience." (2) Whatever the method, the thing that counts is whether it has helped to make Christ real. ~~merge as an entity, giving to India an Indian interpretation of Him in whom all races and tongues can unite -- Jesus Christ.~~

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1. Nat'l. Christian Council Rev., 44:272-5. The Telugu School for Lyrical Evangelism by I.A. Curtis.
 2. Op. Cit., 45:132-6. The Place of Christian Institutions in the Life of the Church by Miss K. Sircar.

D. Conclusion.

As these pages are being written it is certain that events are taking place in India which would add further light to the subject herein discussed. What the ultimate bearing of Nationalism upon the Indian Church will be Time alone can reveal. All that it has been possible to do here is to note the present tendencies, and, aided by the knowledge of the past which has revealed such a close correlation between Church and State, estimate something of what the outcome will be. It must be realized that Nationalism is as yet a growing factor which has only begun to exert its power and which will doubtless be pushed much farther forward in 1929 when it is certain that there will be some action taken regarding the reforms of 1919. With so much talk of "Dominion status", self-determination, or self-government it is inevitable that these ideas should come into still greater prominence in the policy of the Mission and that the Indian Church will eventually emerge as an entity, giving to India an Indian interpretation of Him in whom all races and tongues can unite -- Jesus Christ.

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